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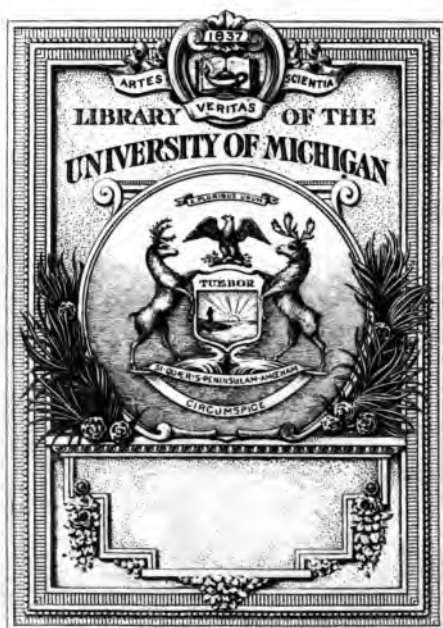
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Clay - An Address...



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**AN ADDRESS**  
**OF**  
**HENRY CLAY,**  
**TO THE PUBLIC;**  
**CONTAINING**  
**CERTAIN TESTIMONY**  
**IN REFUTATION OF**  
***THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM,***  
**MADE**  
**BY GEN. ANDREW JACKSON,**  
**TOUCHING**  
**THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.**

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**WASHINGTON:**

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**1827.**



MS. A. 9. 2. 1. 1. 1.  
to the Hon. Sec. of War.  
2-19-76  
12947

## ADDRESS, &C.

I ~~have~~ no apology to the public is necessary for presenting to it these pages. I am deceived if an ample justification of the act will not be found in the breast of every fair and honorable man. If an officer of Government should not be too sensitive, neither should he be too callous, to assaults upon his character. When they relate to the wisdom or expediency of measures which he may have originated or supported, he should silently repose in the candor and good sense of the community, and patiently await the developments of time and experience. But if his integrity be vitally assailed; if the basest and most dishonorable motives for his public conduct be ascribed to him; he owes it to the country, his friends, his family and himself, to vindicate his calumniated reputation. Few men are so elevated that the shafts of calumny cannot reach them. These may securely trust to the invulnerable position which they have attained. The United States have perhaps hitherto produced but one man who could look down from his lofty height, without emotion, upon the missiles and the malice of his enemies; for even he had his enemies. If the malignant character of charges, the acrimony with which they have been asserted and repeated, or the perseverance which has marked their propagation, could ever authorize an appeal to the public, I think I may truly say, that I have this authority. For three years I have been the object of incessant abuse; every art, every species of misrepresentation, has been employed against me. The most innocent acts—acts of ordinary social intercourse, and of common civility—offices of hospitality, even a passing salutation, have been misrepresented and perverted to my prejudice, with an unfairness unprecedented. Circumstances have been assumed, which had no existence, and inferences have been drawn from them which, had they been real, they would not have warranted. Besides, my enemies have themselves appeared to the public, exhibited their charges, and summoned their witnesses to its Bar. Ready now and anxious as I am, and always have been, to submit any act of my public life to a full examination before any impartial and respectable tribunal whatever, I surely may expect, at least, that I shall be patiently heard by that which my accusers have themselves selected. I assure them that I will present no plea to the jurisdiction.

But desirous as I naturally am to repel the calumnies which have been directed against me, the public would have been spared the trouble of perusing this address, if Gen. Jackson had not, in the course of the last Spring and Summer, given to them the open sanction of his name. In his letter to Mr. Beverly of the 6th of June last, he admits that, in inferring my privy to the proposition

which he describes as borne by Mr. Buchanan, he may have done me injustice ; and, in his address to the public of the 18th of July last, giving up the name of this gentleman, as his only witness, he repeats that he possibly may have done me injustice in assuming my authority for that proposition. He even deigns to honor me with a declaration of the pleasure which he will experience, if I should be able to acquit myself ! Mr. Buchanan has been heard by the public ; and I feel justified in asserting that the first impression of the whole nation was, as it is yet that of every intelligent mind unbiased by party prejudice, that his testimony fully exonerated me, and demonstrated that Gen. Jackson, to say no more, had greatly misconceived the purport of the interview between them. And further ; that, so far as any thing improper was disclosed by Mr. B., touching the late Presidential election, it affected General Jackson and his friends exclusively. He having manifestly injured me, speculation was busy, when Mr. Buchanan's statement appeared, as to the course which the General would pursue, after his gratuitous expression of sympathy with me. There were not wanting many persons, who believed that his magnanimity would immediately prompt him publicly to retract his charge, and to repair the wrong which he had done me. I did not participate in that just expectation, and therefore felt no disappointment that it was not realized. Whatever other merits he may possess, I have not found among them, in the course of my relations with him, that of forbearing to indulge vindictive passions. His silent contemplation of, if not his positive acquiescence in, the most extraordinary interpretation of Mr. Buchanan's statement, that ever was given to human language, has not surprised me. If it had been possible for him to render me an act of spontaneous justice, by a frank and manly avowal of his error, the testimony now submitted to the public might have been unnecessary.

Although I feel fully persuaded that the community, under my peculiar circumstances, will see, without dissatisfaction, if not with cordial approbation, this further effort to rescue my character from unmerited imputations, I should nevertheless have remained silent, and cheerfully abided its decision, on the disclosures and explanations heretofore made, if I had no additional facts to offer to its consideration. But a body of highly important evidence has been collected, establishing some material circumstances not before generally known, and confirming others of which the public is already in possession ; and I have thought it due to the occasion not to withhold it.

Gen. Jackson having entirely failed to establish, by any affirmative evidence, either positive or presumptive, the charge which he thought proper to promulgate against me, it occurred to me that *it might be possible*, difficult as the task generally is to substantiate *a negative*, to adduce proof of that character, which would esta-

blish the groundless nature of his accusation. Prior to the appearance in the public prints of the letter from Mr. Carter Beverly to his friend in Fayetteville, dated the 8th of March last, I had never believed that General Jackson had countenanced the truth, or lent himself to the circulation, of the charge. I had indeed, long before, seen in one of the Nashville papers, assertions, injurious to me, which created some suspicions that they had emanated from him; but I dismissed these suspicions as being altogether incompatible with the lofty character which I wished to believe that he possessed. When however I saw that letter, and the uncontradicted corroboration of its contents by the Editor of the Washington Telegraph, I was reluctantly compelled to believe that he had given currency to the charge against me. In that letter, Mr. Beverly says: "I have just returned from General Jackson's—*I found a crowd of company with him. Seven Virginians were of the number. He gave me a most friendly reception, and urged me to stay some days longer with him. He told me this morning before all his company in reply to a question I put to him concerning the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends that, if they would promise for him not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would in one hour make him (Jackson) the President. He most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared he would not compromise himself; and unless most openly and fairly made the President, by Congress, he never would receive it. He declares that he said to them that he would see the whole earth sink under him before he would bargain or intrigue for it.*" In the Washington City Telegraph of the 26th day of April last, the Editor states: "In the Journal this morning we have another quotation from the Democratic press, purporting to be the official contradiction by Mr. Clay of the statement of Gen. Jackson relative to the overtures made to him as to the formation of his Cabinet, previous to the late election of President. That Gen. Jackson has spoken of such overtures *we personally know*." In the same paper of the 28th of April is the following paragraph: "The Journal is out this morning in reply to our remarks of Thursday, in which they affect to consider it highly improper in Gen. Jackson to speak of the overtures made by Mr. Clay's friends—and why? because, says the Journal, he is a Candidate against Mr. Adams. Now *we* stated explicitly that Gen. Jackson *spoke* of these overtures in March 1825, before he was announced by the Legislature of Tennessee as a Candidate."

The charge, if it did not originate with, having been thus sanctioned and circulated by Gen. Jackson, and implicating as well my friends as me, I thought it proper, having myself repeatedly and positively denied its truth, to resort to the testimony of those

gentlemen from the West who had voted with me for Mr. Adams. Accordingly a friend of mine, Dr. Watkins, at my instance, addressed a circular to those gentlemen, during the last Spring, inviting their attention to the Fayetteville letter, and inquiring if there were any truth in its averments. And he has obtained from all of them but two, answers which are now presented to the public. These answers will be found in the Appendix, (see A) arranged according to the respective delegations from which they proceed. The writers of them are men of as high respectability as any in this Union. Where they are known, (and several of them are well known in various parts of the country,) their statements will command unqualified belief. The excellence of their characters is so well established that a member of the House of Representatives, who will not be presumed to be disposed to bestow on them undeserved encomium, felt himself constrained to bear his testimony to it. Mr. McDuffie said in the H. of Representatives, on the debate of the proposition to refer to a Committee the appeal which I made on the occasion of Mr. Kremer's card: "Let me add one word to the friends of Mr. Clay on this floor" (and there are no members on this floor, for whom generally I feel more respect.) I have been informed that some of his friends "suppose that the amendment I have offered contains something which is intended to bear harshly upon them. Not so; not so. My object is merely to confine the charges made against the honorable Speaker to the very words of the letter of the gentleman from Pennsylvania." This just but voluntary tribute was expressed on the 4th of Feb. 1825. (see Nat. Intelligencer, 5th of the same month.) On the 31st March 1826, more than thirteen months after, when the amendment to the Constitution was under discussion, proposing a new mode of electing a President, the same gentleman is reported to have said: "Now I have the greatest respect for those gentlemen who were the personal and political friends of Mr. Clay in the late election of President. *Next to my own personal friends, there are none whom I estimate more highly.*" (See Nat. Intelligencer 2d May, 1826.) These answers are not only entitled to the fullest credit, from the high respectability of the characters of those gentlemen, but deserve great confidence from the fact that they have been respectively prepared by themselves, without any concert whatever, so far as I know or believe, and when they were at their several residences, widely separated from each other.

The members from Ohio who voted for Mr. Adams were Gen. McArthur, General Vance, General Beecher, Mr. Sloane, Mr. Wright, Mr. Vinton, Mr. McLean, (brother of the Post Master General) Mr. Whittlesey, Mr. Bartley, and Mr. Patterson. From each of these gentlemen it will be seen that an explicit and unqualified negative is given to the statements of the Fayetteville

letter. Gen. McArthur declares them to be "totally destitute of foundation." He alleges the fact to have been that "the Ohio delegation (or at least a large majority of them) were the first of Mr. Clay's friends who came to the determination of voting for Mr. Adams; and that too without having ascertained Mr. Clay's views on the subject." He states that some of the friends of Gen. Jackson used the language of menace, whilst others of them employed that of persuasion to prevail on my friends to vote for the General; and that they appeared to be willing to make any promises which they thought "would induce the friends of Mr. Clay to vote for Gen. Jackson."

Gen. Vance states, "I say without hesitation that I never heard of those, or any other terms being thought of, as an equivalent for the vote we were about to give; nor do I believe that the friends of Mr. Clay, or Mr. Clay himself, ever thought of making or suggesting any terms to any one of the parties, as the grounds of our acceptance or rejection of either of the three Candidates returned to the House of Representatives." He continues: "as one of the original friends of Mr. Clay, I was in the habit of free and unreserved conversation both with him and his other friends, relative to that election, and I am bold to say that I never heard a whisper of any thing like a condition on which our vote was to be given, mentioned either by Mr. Clay himself, or any of his friends, at any time or under any circumstances."

Gen. Beecher testifies that he did not "know that a friend or the friends of Mr. Clay ever made any proposition to the friends of Gen. Jackson, respecting the election of Mr. Adams as President in any way, or as respecting Gen. Jackson not putting Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State in case he (Jackson) should be elected President. Neither am I acquainted with a friend of Mr. Clay that would consent to be an agent in such a degrading transaction. Nor can I admit that the friends of Mr. Clay had so contemptible an opinion of each other or of Mr. Clay, as to suppose that the appointment or non-appointment of any man to any office would influence them in the discharge of an important public duty."

Mr. Sloane declares, "that I have always supposed myself in the entire confidence of all Mr. Clay's supporters and friends, who were members of Congress at the time of the Presidential election; and that I have no hesitation in saying that I never heard the most distant insinuation from any of them that they would vote for Gen. Jackson, if there was any prospect of choosing either of the other candidates. That any of the friends of Mr. Clay in Congress ever made any proposition of conditions, on which their votes would depend, to the friends of Gen. Jackson or any other person, I do not believe." "And as to

"Mr. Clay's accepting an appointment under him, they would to a man most certainly have opposed it. I judge of this from the opinion which I know they entertained of Gen. Jackson's want of capacity, and the fact that it was not until some time after the choice of Mr. Adams that they agreed to advise Mr. Clay to accept of the office he now holds." "In short I feel confident that the whole is a vile and infamous falsehood, such as honorable men would not resort to, more especially after having upon full consultation and deliberate consideration declined an investigation of the whole matter before a Committee of the House of Representatives."

Mr. Wright states, "I can only say sincerely and unequivocally, that I do not know or believe that any proposition of the kind mentioned as from Gen. Jackson, was ever made to the friends of Gen. Jackson by the friends of Mr. Clay or any of them; and that I am wholly ignorant of any conditions of any sort being proposed to any one by the friends of Mr. Clay, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend."

Mr. Vinton is equally explicit. He says, "having been one of the friends of Mr. Clay who voted for Mr. Adams, I cheerfully avail myself of this opportunity to say, that I have no knowledge whatever of the above mentioned proposition or any other proposition having been made to General Jackson or any of his friends, by Mr. Clay or any of his friends as a condition upon which his or their vote was to be given to Gen. Jackson for the Presidency." He subjoins that "It was well known to my constituents for many months previous to the late Presidential election that, after Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams was my next choice among the distinguished individuals, who were then before the people of the United States as candidates for that exalted station."

Mr. McLean declares, "that no such proposition was ever made within my knowledge, nor have I any cause to believe that conditions of any sort were made, at any time, by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend."

Mr. Whittlesey avers that "I do not know or believe that any proposition was ever made by any of Mr. Clay's friends to those of Gen. Jackson, on the morning of the Presidential election, or at any other time, having any bearing on the candidate to be selected from the three returned to the House, nor do I know or believe that any conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend;" "but I do believe that the assertion made by Gen. Jackson as reported by a highly respectable Virginian, and all of the charges of a like character, imputing either to Mr. Adams or to Mr. Clay, or to their friends, any improper, inconsistent, corrupt or fraudulent conduct, on that in-

"teresting and momentous occasion, are base slanders, known to be such by those who put them in circulation."

Mr. Bartley expresses the belief in justice to Gen. Jackson, that he never made the declaration alluded to by Mr. Beverly, "For the General was there when the election took place, and must inevitably have known that such a statement would carry falsehood on the very face of it." He adds "I was in the House, I believe every day of that session, at which the President was elected; and have no hesitation in saying that so far from making any proposition, or overture, were the friends of Mr. Clay, in favor of the General, that had the friends of the General made such a proposition we would have considered it as an indignity offered to our integrity and understanding."

Mr. Patterson is brief but pointed. He says: "I frankly state to you that if any such proposition as you state was made by the friends of Clay to those of Gen. Jackson, I had no knowledge of it, and I was one of the friends of Clay. I therefore believe the report to be without an honest foundation."

In passing from the testimony of the delegation from Ohio to that of Kentucky, we shall find it to be not less irresistible and decisive in negating the declaration of Gen. Jackson, communicated to the public through Mr. Beverly. The Kentucky delegation consisted of twelve members; eight of whom, Mr. Trimble, Mr. F. Johnson, Gen. Metcalfe, Mr. Letcher, Mr. Buckner, Mr. Thompson, Mr. White, and myself, voted for Mr. Adams. From six of them, statements have been received. That from Mr. White has not reached this city; but I am justified in stating that he has repeatedly, within his district after his return to Kentucky, borne unqualified testimony to the falsehood of all charges of corruption in the election, and especially to the propriety of my conduct; and I have no doubt that he will whenever called upon repeat the same testimony.

Mr. Trimble says, "I do not know of my own knowledge, nor have I been informed by others, that offers, propositions, or overtures such as are spoken of by Gen. Jackson in his letter to Beverly, or similar thereto, or of any kind whatever, were made by Mr. Adams or his friends, to Mr. Clay or his friends; or by Mr. Clay or his friends, to Gen. Jackson or his friends. I do not know, nor do I believe that Mr. Adams or his friends made overtures or offers, directly or indirectly, to Mr. Clay or his friends to make him Secretary of State, if he and his friends would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams. Nor do I know or believe that any pledge or promise of any kind was made by Mr. Adams or his friends to Mr. Clay or his friends, to procure his aid in the election.

"I never heard from Mr. Clay, or any of his friends, or any one else that he was willing to vote for Gen. Jackson, if the General

"would say, or any of his friends for him, that Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State. Nor do I know or believe that Mr. Clay ever expressed a willingness, or any of his friends for him, to support or vote for Gen. Jackson, if he could obtain the office of Secretary of State under him."

"I do not know or believe that any overtures or offers of any kind were made by Mr. Clay or his friends to Mr. Adams or his friends to vote for him or support him if he would make Mr. Clay Secretary of State; or to Gen. Jackson or his friends to vote for him or support him, if he could obtain the office of Secretary of State under him; nor do I believe Mr. Clay would have taken office under him if he had been elected." I shall hereafter have occasion to notice other parts of the letter of Mr. Trimble from which the preceding extract has been taken.

Mr. F. Johnson states in his answer to Dr. Watkins, "I have no hesitation however in answering your enquiries. After writing the above extract, you say to me." "If such a proposition were ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay to those of Gen. Jackson, it must have been known to many persons, and the fact therefore may be ascertained. May I ask the favor of you to inform me whether you know or believe any such proposition was ever made, or whether conditions of any sort were made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person on compliance with which their vote was to depend?"

"To the first branch of the enquiry, my answer is that I have no knowledge of any such proposition, nor do I believe any such was ever made. To the second I answer that I neither know of, nor do I believe that any conditions of any sort were made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on compliance with which their vote was to depend."

Gen. Metcalfe, with his characteristic firmness and frankness, says: "I have to state that I never heard or thought of such a proposition until the letter of the highly respectable Virginian appeared in the public prints." He proceeds, "As one of the friends of Mr. Clay I enter the most solemn protest against the right of the General, through his organ the highly respectable Virginian, or otherwise, to say that I would have assisted in making him President on the condition stated. On the contrary, if I could have been made to believe that Gen. Jackson would not have offered to Mr. Adams the place which he had filled with so much ability under Mr. Monroe, that belief would have constituted in my mind a strong additional objection to the General's success." "If it is intended to import the belief that Mr. Clay's friends were desirous of obtaining the appointment for him to the exclusion of Mr. Adams or otherwise under Gen. Jackson, as one of his friends, I pronounce it a base and infamous assault upon the motives and honor, so far as I am concerned or

"believe, of those who did not choose to support him for the Presidency." "In reply to your second enquiry, I have to say that if conditions of any sort were ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend, I know nothing of it."

Judge Letcher, the only member of Congress who boarded in the same house with me, during the session at which the Presidential election was made, testifies: "I know of no such proposition or intimation, nor have I a knowledge of any fact or circumstance which would induce me to believe Mr. Clay's friends, or any one of them, ever made such a proposition to the friends of Gen. Jackson."

Mr. Thompson says: "I know of no proposition made by the friends of Mr. Clay to the friends of Gen. Jackson to make him President if he would not select Mr. Adams to the seat of Secretary; and I do not believe a proposition of any kind was made, and I expect if the friend of the General should ever speak on the subject, he will be a second Kremer."

Mr. Buckner testifies: "In answer to your enquiries on this subject, I will remark that I have no reason to believe that any such proposition was made. Indeed no proposition of any description relating to the election of President was made, so far as I know or believe, by Mr. Clay's friends to those of Gen. Jackson, or of any other person."

Mr. Scott, the member from Missouri, states that "neither Mr. Adams nor his friends ever made any promises or overtures to me, nor did they hold out to me any inducements of any sort, kind or character whatever, to procure me to vote for Mr. Adams. Nor did Mr. Adams or any of his friends ever say or insinuate who would be placed at the head of the Department of State, or any other department, in the event that Mr. Adams should be elected. Nor do I believe any propositions were made to Mr. Clay or his friends, by Mr. Adams or his friends. If there were I know it not." "I never made to Gen. Jackson or to any of his friends any proposition, in reference to the Presidential election, either as regarded the appointment of Mr. Clay or any other person to office, or the exclusion of Mr. Adams or any other person from office. I was neither spoken to by Mr. Clay, or any of his friends, about making any proposition to Gen. Jackson or his friends of any kind whatever, nor did I ever hear it insinuated or hinted, that any proposition was made or intended to be made, by Mr. Clay or his friends to Gen. Jackson or his friends, or to any other candidate or their friends for or relating to the Presidency. And I do believe, had any proposition been made or intended to have been made by Mr. Clay or his friends, from my intimacy and constant intercourse with them, I should have known or heard thereof."

"Adams about the treaty of Ghent; that in the selection of a chief Magistrate for the Union he would endeavor to disregard all private feelings, and look entirely to the interests of the Country and the safety of its institutions."

It appears from the letter of Mr. Robert Trimble, (one of the associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the U. States,) which accompanies that of Mr. D. Trimble, that the latter had avowed to the former, as early as February or March 1824, his preference of Mr. Adams to either of the three Candidates who were actually returned to the House of Representatives.

Col. Davidson (the Treasurer of the State of Kentucky, and a man of unblemished honor and unquestionable veracity) states that during a visit which I made to Frankfort in the fall of 1824, and he thinks only a few days prior to my departure from Kentucky, to attend Congress (it must therefore have been early in November, as I left home before, or about the tenth of that month) he had a conversation with me about the then pending Presidential election, in the course of which he remarked, that I would have some difficulty to encounter in making a selection amongst the Candidates if I should be excluded from the House. To which I replied: "I suppose not much; in that event I will endeavor to do my duty faithfully." He adds that I stated in the course of the conversation: "I cannot conceive of any event that can possibly happen which could induce me to support the election of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency. For if I had no other objection, his want of the necessary qualification would be sufficient." These remarks made a strong and lasting impression on Col. Davidson's mind, and when the resolutions were before the Legislature, requesting the delegation to vote for Gen. Jackson, Col. Davidson informed several of his friends of the conversation with me, and that he was convinced I would not support Gen. Jackson. He communicated the substance of this conversation to George Robinson Esq., the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Kentucky, who concurred with him, that I could not consistently under any circumstances vote for Gen. Jackson. When the same resolutions were before the Senate (of which Col. Davidson was then a Member) he *rose in his place* and opposed them, and among the views which he presented to that body, he stated that *all the Resolutions which they could pass during the whole session would not induce me to abandon what I conceived to be my duty, and that he knew I could not concur with the majority of the Legislature on that subject.*

John J. Crittenden Esq., (who is referred to in the circular to my Constituents, but whose statement has never before been exhibited to the public) testifies: that, "some time in the fall of 1824, conversing upon the subject of the then pending Presidential election, and speaking in reference to your exclusion from the

"contest, and to your being called upon to decide and vote between the other Candidates who might be returned to the H. of Representatives, you declared that you could not, or that it was impossible for you to vote for Gen. Jackson in any event." "My impression is that this conversation took place at Capt. Weisiger's tavern in this town [Frankfort, Ky.] not very long before you went on to Congress in the Fall preceding the last Presidential election, and that the declaration made by you as above stated was elicited by some intimation that fell from me of my preference for Gen. Jackson over all the other Candidates except yourself."

So unalterably fixed was my resolution prior to my departure from Kentucky. I have no doubt that in my promiscuous and unreserved intercourse among my acquaintances in that State, others not recollected by me could bear testimony to the undeviating and settled determination of my mind. It will be now seen that after, and immediately on my arrival at the City of Washington, I adhered to this purpose, and persevered in it until it was executed by the actual deposite of my vote in the ballot box.

In a day or two after I reached the city, and on several other occasions, I had long and unreserved conversations with Mr. Johnston, senator from Louisiana, to an account of which, as given in his letter in the Appendix, I invite particular attention. The first was on the Saturday or Sunday before the commencement of Congress in 1824, and after I had seen Mr. Crawford. I stated to Mr. Johnston that, notwithstanding all I had heard, I had no idea of his actual condition, and that it was out of the question to think of making him President. We conversed fully on the respective pretensions of Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, and after drawing a parallel between them, I concluded by expressing a preference for Mr. Adams, which "turned principally on his talents and experience in civil affairs." After the return of the votes of Louisiana, and after the resolutions of the General Assembly of Kentucky were received, Mr. Johnston states my adherence to that preference. He concludes by observing "that no fact ever came to my knowledge that could in the slightest degree justify the charge which has been exhibited. On the contrary, I know that your opinion did not undergo any change from the time I first saw you on your return to Washington," that is, prior to the meeting of Congress. During the present summer, two gentlemen in the State of Mississippi voluntarily told Mr. Johnston that they heard me express a decided preference of Mr. Adams, at Lexington, before I left home for Washington.

Although not immediately connected with the main object of this address, I think it proper to refer to a part of Mr. Johnston's letter, as sustaining two several statements made by me on former occasions. I stated, in my Address to my constituents that, if I

Had received the vote of Louisiana and been one of the three candidates returned, I had resolved, at a time when there was every probability of my receiving it, that I would not allow my name, in consequence of the small number of votes by which it would be carried into the House, if I were returned, to constitute an obstacle to an election. Mr. Johnston says: "You replied that you would not permit the country to be disturbed a day on your account; that you would not allow your name to interfere with the prompt decision of the question." I stated at Noble's Inn, near Lexington, last summer, that I had requested a Senator, when my nomination as Secretary of State was acted upon, to move a Committee of Inquiry, if it should appear to him necessary. Mr. Johnston says: "After your nomination was confirmed, you informed me that you had requested Gen. Harrison to move for a Committee in the Senate, if any thing occurred to make it necessary. I replied that I did not think any thing had occurred to require a Committee on your part."

Mr. Bouligny, the other Senator from Louisiana, between whom and myself a friendly intimacy has existed throughout our acquaintance, makes a statement, which is worthy of peculiar notice. He bore to me the first authentic information which I received of the vote of Louisiana, and consequently of my exclusion from the House. And yet, in our first interview, in answer to an inquiry which he made, I told him, without hesitation, "that I should vote for Mr. Adams in preference to Gen. Jackson."

With the present Secretary of War I had a conversation in the early part of the session of 1824-5, on returning from a dinner, at the Columbia College, at which we both were, in company with Gen. Lafayette and others. The day of the dinner was the 16th of December, which may be verified by a resort to the National Intelligencer. In the course of that conversation, Mr. Barbour states that he expressed himself, in the event of the contest being narrowed down to Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, in favor of "Mr. Adams, and Mr. Clay expressed a coincidence of opinion."

It will be recollected that Gen. Lafayette was in Washington during the greater part of the session of the Presidential election. He mentioned the subject to me with his characteristic delicacy. Without seeking to influence my vote, or manifesting the least disposition to interfere in the election, he made a simple inquiry of me, which I am quite sure was prompted by the deep interest which he felt in every thing that concerns the welfare of this country. I am happy to be able now to submit the statement of the General of what passed between us on that occasion. He says: "Blessed as I have lately been with the welcome, and conscious as it is my happy lot to be of the affection and confidence of all parties and all men in every party within the United States, feelings which I most cordially reciprocate, I ever have

"thought myself bound to avoid taking any part in local or personal divisions. Indeed, if I thought that in these matters my influence could be of any avail, it should be solely exerted to deprecate, not by far, the free, Republican, and full discussion of principles and candidates, but those invidious slanders which, although they are happily repelled by the good sense, the candor, and in domestic instances, by the delicacy of the American people, tend to give abroad incorrect and disparaging impressions. Yet, that line of conduct from which I must not deviate except in imminent cases now out of the question, does not imply a forgetfulness of facts nor a refusal to state them occasionally. My remembrance concurs with your own on this point, that in the later end of December, either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the presidential candidature, and after having expressed my abovementioned motives of forbearance, I, by way of a confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple unqualified question, respecting your electioneering guess, and your intended vote. Your answer was that in your opinion, the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preference, and that you had concluded to vote for Mr. Adams. Such has been, if not the literal wording, at least the precise sense of a conversation which it would have been inconsistent for me to carry farther and not to keep a secret, while a recollection of it, to assist your memory I should not now deny, not only to you as my friend, but to any man in a similar situation."

Gen. Lafayette was not able to state, with absolute precision, the date of the conversation between us, nor can I undertake to specify the day, although I retain a perfect recollection of the conversation. It was, he says, "in the later end of December, either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the Presidential Candidature." He left Washington on the 16th for Annapolis, and returned on the 21st. [See *National Intelligencer*.] If the conversation took place before that excursion, it must have been on or prior to the 16th of December. But he says that I was out of the "Presidential Candidature." Whether I should be returned to the House or not, was not ascertained until the vote of Louisiana was known. Rumors had reached this city of the issue of it, previous to the 20th of the month; but the first certain intelligence of it was brought here by Mr. Senator Bouigny on the 20th, according to his recollection. On Gen. Lafayette's return from Annapolis, the probability is that the subject of the Presidential election was a common topic of conversation, as information had then just reached the city from Louisiana. I called to see him immediately after his return, and, as it had been very confidently expected that

I would receive the vote of Louisiana, it is quite likely that it was on that occasion that he held the conversation with me. This would fix the day to have been prior to Christmas. But whatever was the actual day, there can be no doubt that it was before the memorable interview between Gen. Jackson and Mr. Buchanan.

Here, then, is an unbroken chain of testimony, commencing early in October 1824, and extending to nearly the end of the year, establishing, beyond all controversy, my fixed and unwavering decision not to vote for Gen. Jackson. This purpose is deliberately manifested at different periods, in different places, and to distinguished individuals who would have been the last in society that I should have thought of deceiving. This testimony stands unopposed, and, with truth, cannot be opposed by a solitary individual. There does not exist a human being, and if the dead could be recalled, one could not be summoned from the grave, who could truly testify that I ever expressed or ever intimated the remotest intention to vote for Gen. Jackson, in any contingency whatever. As to him, my mind was never for a moment in doubt or difficulty. And whatever personal predilection I might have entertained for Mr. Crawford, of whose state of health there were such opposite representations in the public prints, when I saw him myself, there was no alternative in my judgment but that which I embraced. I have reason to believe that Gen. Jackson and his friends cherished no expectation that I would vote for him. Gen. Call, the then delegate from Florida, was his ardent and intimate friend, and had been his Aid. They travelled together on their journey to Washington City in the fall of 1824. In a letter from Gen. Jackson to Mr. Eaton, which is contained in the 66th page of the 28th vol. of Niles' Register, he states that Gen. Call was with him on that journey, and he refers to him as corroborating his own memory relative to a transaction at Washington (Pennsylvania.) It is presumable that the election with its prospects and hopes must have frequently formed a subject of conversation on the journey. It can scarcely be doubted that Gen. Call was well acquainted with Gen. Jackson's views and expectations. At a tavern at Rockville, in Maryland, about fifteen miles from this city, during that same journey, Gen. Call and several other gentlemen engaged in conversation about the presidential election. John Braddock, Esq. (a gentleman not known to me, but who, I understand, is a merchant of great respectability) was present; and he states that "when the vote which Mr. Clay would probably give" was spoken of, Gen. Call declared that the friends of Gen. Jackson did not expect Mr. Clay to vote for him, and if he did so, it "would be an act of duplicity on his part." [See Appendix C.]

*In Gen. Jackson's address to the public of the 18th of July last, touching his previous statements to Mr. Beverly, and communicating the name of Mr. Buchanan, as the gentleman who bore the*

imaginary overture, he says. "the origin—the beginning of this matter was at my own house and fireside; where surely a freeman may be permitted to speak on public topics, without having ascribed to him improper designs." From this statement, the fair inference is, that Gen. Jackson intends to aver that he had never before spoken of his charge against me. The "origin, the beginning" of this matter was, he says, at his own fireside; that is, it was in March, 1827, when, according to Mr. Beverly, before a crowd of company, of which there were no less than seven Virginians, he proclaimed his accusation. The obligation to observe the principles of honor, and to speak with scrupulous veracity of all men, and especially of our competitors, is unaffected by time or place. The domestic fireside has no privilege which exempts a man of honor from the force of that obligation. On the contrary there, more than in any other place, in the midst of one's family, should examples be exhibited of truth, of charity, and of kindness towards our fellow men. All the surrounding circumstances tend to soothe the vindictive passions, and to inculcate moderation. Whether the privileges of the domestic circle have been abused by Gen. Jackson, or not, in my instance, let the impartial world decide. The attitude in which he stood before the American people and the subsisting relations between him and me, one might have supposed would prompt him to the observance of the greatest delicacy. Has he practised it? If indeed, in an unguarded moment of hilarity, amidst his convivial friends, in his own domicil, he had incautiously touched a subject, respecting which he might have been expected to prescribe to himself the most profound silence, he might possibly find, not any justification, but some excuse for his indiscretion, in the public liberality. But what must be the general surprise when the fact turns out to be, that the "origin—the beginning" of this matter with Gen. Jackson, was not, as he alleges, in March, 1827, but at least two years before; not, as he also alleges, at his own fireside, but in public places, on the highway, at taverns, and on board a steam boat! I have expected to receive testimony to establish the fact of his promulgating his charge on all those various occasions, during his journey on his return from Congress, in March, 1825. At present, I have only obtained it in part. (See Appendix D.)

Mr. Daniel Large testifies "that on my way down the Ohio "from Wheeling to Cincinnati, in the month of March, 1825, on "board the steam-boat General Neville, among many other passengers were Gen. Jackson and a number of gentlemen from Pennsylvania, some of whom remarked to the General that they regretted that he had not been elected President instead of Mr. Adams. Gen. Jackson replied, that if he would have made the same promises and offers to Mr. Clay, that Mr. Adams had done, "he (Gen. Jackson) would then, in that case, have been in the

"Presidential chair, but he would make no promises to any ; that "if he went to the Presidential chair, he would go with clean hands "and uncontrolled by any one."

To this statement, Mr. William Crossdell, who was present, subjoins a certificate that "it is a faithful account of Gen. Jackson's conversation on the occasion alluded to." Both of those gentlemen, I have been informed, are respectable citizens of Philadelphia.

I have understood, that to the Reverend Andrew Wylie, Major Davis, and others in Washington, in Pennsylvania, on one occasion; at a tavern in West Alexandria, in the same county on another ; at Brownsville; at Cincinnati; at Louisville; and at Bowling Green, in a tavern in Kentucky, Gen. Jackson made similar assertions. Should the additional proof expected arrive, it shall be presented to the public.\* Whether such was the design or not, Gen. Jackson appears to have proclaimed his accusation, at such convenient and separated points, as would insure its general circulation. We have the testimony of Gen. Duff Green, (which is at least admissible on such an occasion) that he *personally* knew of Gen. Jackson speaking to the same effect as early as March, 1825.

Thus it appears that, in March 1825, at various places, in the presence of many persons, Gen. Jackson took upon himself to represent that Mr. Adams had made offers to me, and that if he had made similar proposals, he, and not Mr. Adams, would have been elected President. With what truth then can he assert, as he has done, that the "origin" of his charge was two years afterwards at his own fireside? Or that he "has not gone into the highways and market places" to proclaim his opinions?

Whilst he has made no protest against any benefit which might accrue to himself from the dissemination of such a charge against me, he is extremely desirous not to be considered as my *public accuser*. He has indeed not appeared before a grand jury to support a bill of indictment against me. Neither did he arraign me when acting under the oath of a Senator of the United States, he passed upon my nomination. But, if *he* can be regarded as a public accuser who, on numerous occasions, to particular individuals, as well as before crowds of people, in public as well as private places, charges another with a political offence, Gen. Jackson unites the double character of my public and private accuser. With him I have been reluctantly compelled to believe the accusation originated. Whether from an honest misconception of the purport of Mr. Buchanan's interview with him, (which no one can doubt was the source of the calumny) or from the design of promoting his own interests, the injury to me has been the same. The public, (as I certainly had) prior to the last Summer. supposed that

\* See Mr. Simms's and Mr. Howe's statements, received since this paper was in press. (Appendix D.)

the charge had originated with Mr. George Kremer's letter to the *Columbian Observer*. But recent disclosures of General Jackson and his partisans, satisfactorily establish that, although the sternness of Mr. Kremer's patriotism prompted him "to cry aloud and spare not," he must be stripped of the borrowed merit of original invention, which impartial justice requires should now be transferred to a more distinguished personage. A brief summary of incontestable facts will evince the justness of this observation.

It was the policy with which the political campaign was conducted in the Winter 1824-25, by the forces of the General, in the first instance to practice stratagem with my friends and me. Accordingly the arts of persuasion and flattery were employed. But as I did not hasten to give in my adhesion, and remained most mysteriously silent, in other words had not converted myself into a boisterous and zealous partizan of Gen. Jackson, it became necessary to change that policy, and to substitute intimidation for blandishment. Mr. Kremer presented himself as a fit agent in this new work. He was ardent, impelled by a blind and infuriate zeal, and irresponsible, and possessed at least the faculty of clamorous vociferation. His letter to the *Columbian Observer* was prepared, and he was instructed to sign and transmit it. That he was not the author of the letter he has deliberately admitted to Mr. Crowninshield, former Secretary of the Navy. That he was not acquainted with its contents, that is, did not comprehend the import of its terms, has been sufficiently established. To Gov. Kent, Col. Little, (who voted in the House of Representatives for Gen. Jackson,) Col. Brent of Louisiana, and Mr. Digges, he disclaimed all intention of imputing any thing dishonorable to me. (See Appendix E.) Who was the real author of the letter, published in the *Columbian Observer*, to which Mr. Kremer affixed his signature, I will not undertake positively to assert. Circumstances render it highly probable that it was written by Mr. Eaton, and with the knowledge of Gen. Jackson. In relation to the card of Mr. Kremer, in answer to that which I had previously inserted in the *Nat. Intelligencer*, I remarked in my circular to my constituents, that the night before the appearance of Mr. Kremer's, "as I was voluntarily informed, Mr. Eaton, a Senator from Tennessee, and the biographer of General Jackson, (who boarded in the end of this City opposite to that in which Mr. Kremer took up his abode, a distance of about two miles and a half,) was closeted for some time with him." This paragraph led to a correspondence between Mr. Eaton and myself, in the course of which, in a letter from me to him, under date the 31st March, 1825, I observe, "it is proper for me to add that I did believe, from your nocturnal interview with Mr. Kremer, referred to in my address, that you prepared or advised the publication of his card, in the guarded terms in which it is expressed. I should be happy, by a disavowal on your part, of the fact of that interview, or of its sup-

public conduct, ought to affect our personal intercourse. My visit was not returned, and I was subsequently told that he was in the habit of indulging in the bitterest observations upon most of those (myself among the number) who had called in question the propriety of his military conduct in the Seminole War. I saw no more of him, except possibly at a distance during the same winter, in this City, until the summer of the year 1819. Being in that summer, on my way from N. Orleans to Lexington, and travelling the same road on which he was passing in the opposite direction from Lexington to Nashville, we met at Lebanon in Kentucky, where I had stopt to breakfast. I was sitting at the door in the shade reading a newspaper, when the arrival of Gen. Jackson and his suite was announced. As he ascended the steps and approached me, I rose and saluted him in the most respectful manner. He darted by me, slightly inclining his head, and abruptly addressing me. He was followed by some of his suite who stopped and conversed with me some time, giving me the latest information of my family. I afterwards learnt that Gen. Jackson accompanied President Monroe, in a visit to my family, and partook of some slight refreshment at my house. On leaving the tavern at Lebanon, I had occasion to go into a room where I found Gen. Jackson seated reading a newspaper, and I retired, neither having spoken to the other, and pursued my journey, in company with four or five travelling companions.

Such was the state of our relations at the commencement of the session of Congress in 1823, the interval having passed without my seeing him. Soon after his arrival here to attend that session, I collected from certain indications that he had resolved upon a general amnesty, the benefit of which was to be extended to me. He became suddenly reconciled with some individuals between whom and himself there had been a long existing enmity. The greater part of the Tennessee delegation (all I believe except Mr. Eaton and Gen. Cocke) called on me together early in the session, for the express purpose, as I understood, of producing a reconciliation between us. I related, in substance, all of the above circumstances, including the meeting at Lebanon. By way of apology for his conduct at Lebanon, some of the gentlemen remarked that he did not intend any disrespect to me, but that he was laboring under some indisposition. I stated that the opinions which I had expressed in the H. of Representatives, in regard to Gen. Jackson's military transactions had been sincerely entertained and were still held, but that being opinions in respect to public acts, they never had been supposed by me to form any just occasion for private enmity between us, and that none had been cherished on my part. Consequently there was on my side no obstacle to a meeting with him, and maintaining a respectful intercourse. For the purpose of bringing us together, the Tennessee representa-

tives, all of whom, according to my recollection, boarded at Mrs. Claxton's, on Capitol Hill, gave a dinner to which we were both invited, and at which I remember, Mr. Senator White, then acting as a Commissioner under the Florida treaty, and others were present. We there met, exchanged salutations, and dined together. I retired from the table early, and was followed to the door by Gen. Jackson and Mr. Eaton, who insisted on my taking a seat in their carriage. I rode with them and was set down at my own lodgings. I was afterwards invited by Gen. Jackson to dine with him, where I met with Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Southard and many other gentlemen, chiefly members of Congress. He also dined, in company with fifteen or eighteen members of Congress, at my lodgings, and we frequently met, in the course of the winter, always respectfully addressing each other.

Just before I left Kentucky the succeeding fall (Nov. 1824,) to proceed to Washington, a report reached Lexington that Gen. Jackson intended to take that place in his route to the city. Our friendly intercourse having been restored, in the manner stated, I was very desirous that he should arrive, prior to my departure from home, that I might offer to him the hospitality of my house, and, lest he might misinterpret the motive of my departure, if it preceded his arrival. In this temper of mind, I think it quite possible that I may have said that, if I had been aware of his intention to pass that way, I would have written to him when I intended to set out, and urged him to reach Lexington before I started on my journey. I certainly never contemplated travelling in company with him, having some time before made all my arrangements for the journey with the gentleman who accompanied me, and having determined upon a route, different from the usual one, which was taken by Gen. Jackson. It has been affirmed that I wrote to him expressing a wish to accompany him to the City of Washington, and his silence would seem to imply an acquiescence in the correctness of the statement, if it were not put forward on his suggestion. I am quite sure that I did not at that period write him a letter of any description; but if I did, I here express my entire assent to the publication of that or any other letter addressed to him by me. I do not believe I did, because I do not think that there was time, after I heard of his intention to come by Lexington, for a letter from me to reach Nashville, and an answer to be returned, before it was requisite to commence the journey—a punctual attendance on my part being necessary as the presiding officer of the House. If such a letter had been (as most undesignedly it might have been,) written, can any thing more strongly illustrate the spirit of hostility against me than the unwarrantable inferences, which have been drawn from that assumed fact? When I left home in November I did not certainly know the electoral vote of a solitary state in the Union. Although I did not doubt the result of that in Ken-

lucky, the returns had not come in, and the first authentic information which I received of the vote of any State was of that of Ohio, which reached me on the Kanawha, during the journey, more than two hundred miles from my residence. Whether I would be one of the three returned to the House of Representatives was not ascertained, until more than three weeks after I had reached Washington. Is it not, then, most unreasonable to suppose, if I had written such a letter as has been imagined, proposing that we should travel together, that I could have had any object connected with the presidential election? I reached Washington several days before him. Shortly after his arrival, he called to see me, but I was out. I returned the visit, considering it in both instances one of mere ceremony. I met with him but rarely during that session, and always, when I did see him, in company. I sought no opportunities to meet him, for, having my mind unalterably fixed in its resolution not to vote for him, I wished to inspire him with no hopes from me. The presidential election never was a topic, to which the most distant allusion was made by me, in any conversation with him, but once, and that happened at a dinner given by the Russian Minister, the late Baron of Tuyll, on the 24th December, 1824. I recollect the day, because it was the birth day of the late Emperor Alexander. About thirty gentlemen composed the party, and, among them, Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, Gen. Jackson, and, I think, Mr. Macon. Just before we passed from the drawing into the dining room, a groupe of some eight or ten gentlemen were standing together, of whom Gen. Jackson and I were a part, and Internal Improvements (I do not recollect how) became the subject of conversation. I observed to him, in the course of it, that if he should be elected President, I hoped the cause would prosper under his administration. He made some general remarks, which I will not undertake to state, lest I should do him injustice.

My principal inducement to the publication of this address being to exhibit the testimony which it embodies; it forms no part of my purpose to comment on the statements which have been published of Messrs. Buchanan, Eaton, Isaacs, and Markley, all of them the friends of Gen. Jackson, on the occasion of the late election. Neither shall I notice the numerous falsehoods of anonymous writers, and editors of newspapers, with which the press has teemed to my prejudice. The task would be endless. To guard against any misinterpretation that might be placed on my silence, in respect to a letter from Mr. Harrison Munday, which has been widely circulated, and which was published at a period chosen to affect the Kentucky election, I declare that whether this letter be genuine or not, its statements are altogether groundless. I never *had such a conversation with him as that letter describes, respecting Mr. Adams, who, at the time when it is alleged to have happen-*

ad, was abroad, and of whom at that early period, there had been certainly no general conversation in regard to his election, to the Presidency. The appointment which Mr. Markley holds, was conferred upon him in consequence of the very strong recommendations of him, principally for a more important office, from numerous highly respectable persons of all parties, in various parts of Pennsylvania, from some of the Pennsylvania delegation, among whom Mr. Buchanan took a warm and zealous interest in his behalf, and from the support given to him by the Secretary of the Treasury, to which department the appointment belonged.

When it was ascertained that I was not one of the three candidates who were returned to the House of Representatives, I was compelled to vote, if I voted at all, for one of those actually returned. The duty which the people devolved on me was painful and perilous, and I anticipated that it was impossible for me, whatever course I should take, to escape censure. I confess that the measure has transcended all expectation, if it be not unexampled. It has been seen that my opinion was early and deliberately formed, under circumstances where no personal motive could have swayed me; that it was adhered to without deviation; and that it was avowed again and again, not to one or two but to many persons, not in obscurity, but standing high in the public estimation and in my own. Not a particle of opposing testimony has been, or with truth can be, adduced. I have indeed derived consolation from the reflection that, amidst all the perturbation of the times, no man has been yet found hardy enough to assert, that I ever signified a purpose of voting for Gen. Jackson. It has been seen that, so far as any advances were made, they proceeded from the side of Gen. Jackson. After our meeting at Lebanon, ages might have rolled away, and, if we both continued to live, I never would have sought the renewal of any intercourse with him. When he came to the Senate, and at the commencement of the next session of Congress, the system of operation decided on, in respect to my friends and me, was one of courteous and assiduous attention. From that, the transition was to a scheme of intimidation, of which Mr. Kremer's letter is only a small part of the evidence. Intimidation of a representative of the people in the discharge of a solemn trust! That is the last day of the Republic on which such means shall be successfully employed and publicly sanctioned. Finding me immovable by flattery or fear, the last resort has been to crush me by steady and unprecedented calumny. Whether this final aim shall be crowned with success or not, depends upon the intelligence of the American people. I make no appeal to their sympathy. I invoke only stern justice.

If truth has not lost its force, reason its sway, and the fountains of justice their purity, the decision must be auspicious. With a firm reliance upon the enlightened judgment of the public, and

Another, and still more serious consideration with us, was, the qualifications of those gentlemen from whom, under the provisions of the Constitution, a President was to be selected by the House.

So far as I was acquainted with the sentiments of Mr. Clay's friends, I do not believe that they could have been prevailed upon to have supported the election of General Jackson upon any conditions whatever, much less that of excluding Mr. Adams from the appointment of Secretary of State.

The language held by some of the friends of the General, before the election, *was*, that the friends of Mr. Clay *durst not* vote for any man other than General Jackson. This was so often repeated, in a menacing manner, that it seemed that they already considered us chained to the car of the General; and, if viewed in that degrading light, what inducement could we have had to ask, or to offer conditions of any kind? But it is also true that others of the General's friends used, what they no doubt conceived, more persuasive language. Indeed they appeared to be willing to make any promises which they thought would induce the friends of Mr. Clay to vote for General Jackson.

I do not believe, however, that General Jackson ever made the statement attributed to him, as such "*slang*" does not comport with the character of a soldier, or of a high minded honorable man. Nor do I believe, as I before stated, that any such proposition was ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay to those of General Jackson, or that propositions of any kind were ever made *by them*, to any person, as a condition, upon the compliance with which, their vote was made to depend. But, if the fact should be otherwise, let the proof appear, and the names of the persons be published, so that the world may know and judge how far they ought, of right, to be considered the friends of Mr. Clay, or were authorized to make such a proposition.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DUNCAN M'ARTHUR.

Doctor T. Watkins.

Urbana, July 12th, 1827.

SIR: On my return from a visit to West Point, I found your favor of the 5th of May, and with great cheerfulness answer the question therein propounded.

You ask me, as one of the friends of Mr. Clay, that voted for Mr. Adams, if I knew of any proposition being made to General Jackson, or his friends, by Mr. Clay, or his friends, that if he, Jackson, would not appoint Mr. Adams Secretary of State, that we, the friends of Mr. Clay, would support him for the Presidency. I say, without hesitation, that I never heard of those or any other terms being thought of, as an equivalent for the vote we were about to give, nor do I believe that the friends of Mr. Clay, or Mr. Clay himself, ever *thought of making or suggesting any terms to any one of the parties as the grounds of our acceptance or rejection of either of the candidates returned to the House of Representatives.* As one

of the original friends of Mr. Clay, I was in the habit of free and unreserved conversations, both with him and his other friends, relative to that election, and I am bold to say that I never heard a whisper of any thing like a condition on which our vote was to be given, mentioned either by Mr. Clay himself, or any of his friends, at any time, or under any circumstances. That the friends of Mr. Clay, while the election was pending before the House, were treated with great kindness and courtesy, by the friends of the other candidates, is certainly true, and that we were strongly importuned to support their respective favorites, is equally true; but I can say with truth, and I say it with great pleasure, that I never heard a proposition from the friend or friends of either of the candidates, or from any other person, directed either to the ambition or avarice of those having a voice in the election, calculated or intended to swerve them from a conscientious discharge of their duty. Nor do I believe it was the opinion of any well informed man, in the House of Representatives, until it was seized hold of by the Combination, as the best and only means to ruin Mr. Clay.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH VANCE.

Hon. T. Watkins.

Lancaster, May 21, 1827.

DEAR SIR: Absence from home, is the reason why I have not, before this, answered your letter, upon the subject of the letter said to have been written by a "highly respectable Virginian."

I do not know that a friend, or the friends of Mr. Clay, ever made any proposition to the friends of General Jackson, respecting the election of Mr. Adams, as President, in any way; or as respecting General Jackson "not putting Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State," in case he, Jackson, should be elected President.

Neither am I acquainted with a friend of Mr. Clay's that would consent to be an agent in such a degrading transaction.

Nor can I admit that the friends of Mr. Clay had so contemptible an opinion of each other, or of Mr. Clay, as to suppose that the appointment or non appointment of any man to any office would influence them in the discharge of an important public duty.

Mr. Clay, and his friends, preferred Mr. Adams to General Jackson, merely because they believed he, in a more eminent degree, possessed the qualifications necessary to the able performance of the high duties assigned by the Constitution and Laws to the President of the United States.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

P. BEECHER.

Doctor Tobias Watkins, Washington.

Wooster, May 9, 1827.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 1st instant has been received. I had previously noticed the letter said to have been written by a "highly

*respectable Virginian*," to which it refers. In answer to your inquiries, I have to state, that I have always supposed myself in the entire confidence of all Mr. Clay's supporters and friends, who were members of Congress at the time of the Presidential election, and that I have no hesitation in saying that I never heard the most distant insinuation from any of them that they would vote for General Jackson, if there was any prospect of choosing either of the other candidates. That any of the friends of Mr. Clay, in Congress, ever made any proposition of conditions on which their votes would depend, to the friends of General Jackson, or any other person, I do not believe. Had General Jackson been chosen, they would have felt no concern as to who he might have appointed members of his cabinet; and, as to Mr. Clay's accepting an appointment under him, they would, to a man, have most certainly opposed it. I judge of this from the opinion which I know they entertained of General Jackson's want of capacity, and the fact that it was not until some time after the choice of Mr. Adams that they agreed to advise Mr. Clay to accept of the office he now holds. His acceptance has always been regarded by them as a favor done to the country, and not as one conferred upon him.

If the disposition of General Jackson could have been judged of by the importunity of some of his Congressional friends, I should have supposed that a proposition of the kind mentioned, would have been instantly closed with; but no such propositions were ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay, and none such would have been accepted by them.

In short, I feel confident that the whole is a vile and infamous falsehood, such as honorable men would not resort to, more especially after having, upon full consultation and deliberate consideration, declined an investigation of the whole matter before a committee of the House of Representatives.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. SLOANE.

Hon. Tobias Watkins.

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Steubenville, 6th May, 1827.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 1st current, stating that General Jackson is reported to have said, at his table, "in the presence of all his company," "that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends, that if they would promise for him not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would, in one hour, make him, Jackson, the President," &c. &c. and asking me to inform you whether I know, or believe, that such a proposition was ever made? Or, whether conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend?

In reply, I can only say, sincerely and unequivocally, that I do not know or believe that any proposition of the kind mentioned, as from General Jackson, was ever made to the friends of General Jackson, *his friends of Mr. Clay, or any of them; and that I am wholly*

ignorant of any conditions, of any sort, being proposed to any one, by the friends of Mr. Clay, on a compliance with which their votes was made to depend.

Allow me to observe, in addition, that the vote of the Ohio Delegation was determined upon by consultation among its members, so far as I know or believe, without any stipulation or agreement with the Delegation of any other State, or individual, as to what that vote should be. To my knowledge, no influence whatever, other than the convictions of each member, after a candid and serious examination into the fitness and qualifications of the three candidates before the House, for the office of Chief Magistrate, and an ardent desire properly to discharge the important duty devolved upon them by the Constitution, according to its spirit, operated to control the vote of any one of Mr. Clay's friends, or himself.

In great haste, sincerely yours,

J. C. WRIGHT.

*T. Watkins, Esq.*

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*Gallipolis, (Ohio,) May 27, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: On returning home, to-day, from a short journey, I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 1st instant, addressed to me, concerning the publication of a letter, that first appeared in the "Fayetteville Observer," said to have been written by "a highly respectable Virginian," containing a statement, in substance to this effect—that General Jackson, in answer to a question put to him by the writer, in presence of his, General J's company, said that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends, that if they would promise for him, Jackson, not to make Mr. Adams his Secretary of State, that Clay and his friends would make him President at the then approaching election by Congress. You request me to favor you with a statement concerning my knowledge of this matter. Having been one of the friends of Mr. Clay, who voted for Mr. Adams, I cheerfully avail myself of this opportunity to say that I have no knowledge whatever of the above mentioned proposition, or any other proposition having been made to General Jackson, or any of his friends, by Mr. Clay, or any of his friends, as a condition upon which his or their vote was to be given to General Jackson for the Presidency.

It may not, perhaps, be amiss to add, in relation to myself, that though I hold the public services of General Jackson in the highest estimation, it was well known to my constituents, for many months previous to the late Presidential election, that after Mr. Clay Mr. Adams was my next choice, among the distinguished individuals who were then before the people of the United States, as candidates for that exalted station.

I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.

SAML. F. VINTON.

*T. Watkins, Esq.*

*Piqua, Ohio, 18th May, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 1st instant came to hand by the last mail, and in compliance with your request I will answer the interrogatories you propound. I had, prior to the reception of your letter, read the publication to which you allude, said to have been written by a "highly respectable Virginian," and dated at Nashville, the 8th of March last, which first appeared, I believe, in the Fayetteville Observer, and subsequently in several other papers, in which the writer, after having mentioned his visit to General Jackson, thus proceeds: "He, (General Jackson,) told me this morning, before all his company, in reply to a question I put to him, concerning the election of J. Q. Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends that if they would promise, *for him*, not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would, *in one hour*, make him, Jackson, the President. He most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared he would not compromise himself, and unless most *openly and fairly* made the President he would not receive it. He declared that he said to them he would see the whole earth sink under him, before he would bargain or intrigue for it."

You ask me to inform you whether I know, or believe, that such a proposition was ever made, or whether conditions of any sort were made by the friends of Mr. Clay, to any person, on a compliance of which their vote was made to depend? I answer that no such proposition was ever made, within my knowledge, nor have I any cause to believe that conditions, of any sort, were made, at any time, by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend. I will further say, I cannot believe that General Jackson made the declarations attributed to him, in the letter purporting to have been written by a "highly respectable Virginian."

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. M-LEAN.

*T. Watkins, Esq. Washington City.*

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*Canfield, Trumbull County, Ohio, May 12, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 1st was received this morning. In answer to your enquiries, I reply, that I do not know or believe that any proposition was ever made by any of Mr. Clay's friends to those of General Jackson's, on the morning of the Presidential election, or at any other time, having any bearing on the candidate to be selected from the three returned to the House, nor do I know or believe that any conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend; but I do believe that the assertion made by General Jackson, as reported by "a highly respectable Virginian," and all of the charges of a like character, imputing either to Mr. Adams or to Mr. Clay, or to their friends, any improper, inconsistent, corrupt, or fraudulent conduct, on that interesting and momentous occasion,

are base slanders, known to be such by those who put them in circulation, yet very honestly accredited by many worthy citizens. My intercourse with the friends of Mr. Clay was such that, had any proposition been made by them, I should have been very likely to have known of it. No man was ever elevated to an office by views more pure and patriotic than was Mr. Adams. The assertion imputed to General Jackson is ridiculous on the face of it. Admitting that Mr. Clay and his friends were oscillating, previous to the charges made against Mr. Clay, of which Mr. Kremer afterwards assumed to be the author, those charges must have separated them from General Jackson and his friends; but, as between Mr. Adams and General Jackson, neither Mr. Clay nor his friends doubted for a moment whom to support, and if it had been known on the day that Congress met that Mr. Clay would not be returned, and the vote had then been taken, (considering Mr. Crawford's illness,) the result would have been the same as when the election was held. If Mr. Clay's friends were halting between two opinions, on the morning of the election, how happens it the charges of fraud, corruption, bargain, and sale, were made ten days or a fortnight before that time? If General Jackson has any evidence in his possession to sustain his declaration, why does he withhold it from the public?

Very respectfully yours,

E. WHITTLESEY.

*T. Watkins, Esq.*

*Mansfield, O. May 24th, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 2nd instant was just received, giving a statement of the contents of a letter said to have been written by a highly respectable Virginian, relative to a statement said to have been made by General Jackson, on the subject of the late Presidential Election.

Before I proceed, in justice to the General, I will say that I do not believe that he ever made the declaration alluded to by the writer of said letter, for the General was there when the Election took place, and must inevitably have known that such a statement would carry falsehood on the very face of it. It was well known that some of the friends of Mr. Clay, from Ohio, would not, in any event, give their support to Gen. Jackson, because Mr. Adams was their second choice, and believed to be the second choice of a majority of the people of this State; and further, General Jackson must know that two weeks previous to the election, Mr. Clay and his friends were assailed in a vulgar and ungentlemanly manner, for declaring their intention to vote for the present Executive; yet this proposition is said to have been made to the friends of General Jackson, that on certain conditions, "the General should be President in one hour," which, if true, must have been made only one hour before the canvass took place in the House. This statement of itself needs no refutation except for the respectable source from which it is said to have emanated. I was in the House, I believe, every day of that Session at which the President was elected; and have no hesitation in say-

ing, that so far from making any proposition, or overture, were the friends of Mr. Clay, in favor of the General, that had the friends of the General made such a proposition, we would have considered it as an indignity offered to our integrity and understanding. I could not have voted for the General, in any event, for many reasons—two of which I will mention : First, I believed him far inferior to all the other Candidates in point of talents : Second, I had doubted his being a real friend to the Tariff to protect the manufactures of our own country. I will also mention that I had entertained doubts of his being friendly to internal improvement under the direction of the General Government. Three opinions have been, within the present year, verified, by declarations, and the course pursued by the General's leading friends, and his silence on the subject, after being solicited to come out.

I am, dear Sir, with respect, your obedient servant,

T. Watkins, Esqr.

M. BARTLEY.

St. Consville, May 9th, 1827.

SIR: Yours of the 1st instant was received the 7th, and in answer to your inquiry I frankly state to you that if any such proposition as you state, was made by the friends of Clay to those of Gen. Jackson, I had no knowledge of it; and I was one of the friends of Clay: I therefore believe the report to be without an honest foundation.

Respectfully yours, &c.

T. Watkins, Esqr.

JOHN PATTERSON.

Mountsterling, (Ken.) August 12, 1827.

SIR: I have been constantly from home for some weeks past, and have not had leisure until this morning to answer your letter, requesting me to state what I know and believe about the charges made against Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams, by Gen. Jackson and his friends.

The letter you refer to, dated *Nashville*, and said to be first published in the "*Fayetteville Observer*," was read by me some time since, in some of my newspapers, and thrown aside. I have searched for it, but cannot find it. The letter—General Jackson to Carter Beverly, dated *Hermitage*, June 6th, 1827, is before me, and I shall refer to it in my reply to you, under a belief that it contains the substance of the accusations made by Beverly in his *Nashville* letter.

I do not know of my own knowledge, nor have I been informed by others, that offers, propositions, or overtures, such as are spoken of by General Jackson in his letter to Beverly, or similar thereto, or of any kind whatever, were made by Mr. Adams or his friends to Mr. Clay or his friends; or by Mr. Clay or his friends, to General Jackson or his friends. I do not know, nor do I believe that Mr. Adams or his friends made overtures or offers, directly or indirectly, to Mr. Clay or his friends to make him Secretary of State, if he and his friends would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams; nor do I know, or believe, that any pledge or promise of any kind, was

made by Mr. Adams or his friends, to Mr. Clay or his friends, to procure his aid in the election.

I never heard from Mr. Clay, or any of his friends, or any one else, that he was willing to vote for General Jackson, if the General would say, or any of his friends for him, that Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State; nor do I know or believe that Mr. Clay ever expressed a willingness, or any of his friends for him, to support or vote for General Jackson, if he could obtain the office of Secretary of State under him.

I do not know, nor do I believe, that any overtures, or offers of any kind, were made by Mr. Clay or his friends, to Mr. Adams or his friends, to vote for him or support him, if he would make Mr. Clay Secretary of State; or to General Jackson or his friends, to vote for him or support him, if he could obtain the office of Secretary of State under him; nor do I believe that Mr. Clay would have taken office under him if he had been elected.

I cannot believe the statement made to General Jackson, nor do I believe that Mr. Clay made, or authorized any of his friends to make, overtures to him, directly or indirectly, because I know that Mr. Clay intended to vote against him. I know Mr. Clay had *determined* to vote for Mr. Adams as early as October 1824, if the election should devolve upon the House of Representatives in Congress, with his own name excluded from the list. In this I cannot be mistaken, because he told me so expressly. He may have forgotten what he said to me, but the substance of the conversation is fresh in memory with myself, and I will endeavor to detail such portions of it, as will evince his prepossessions in favor of Mr. Adams, as well as his fixed intention to vote for him.

Mr. Adams, we all know, was elected on the 9th of February, 1825. The prevailing opinion, you will recollect, as early as January 1824, if not earlier was, that none of the candidates would obtain a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, (261,) and it was expected as a matter of course, that the eventual election would devolve upon the House of Representatives. The friends of Mr. Clay believed that he would go before the House as one of the three highest on the list of candidates; but this was not certain, and on the contrary it was reasonable to suppose that he might fail. In looking forward to a failure on his part, and to the possible events and consequences which might follow, I was frequently brought to consider which of the other three candidates ought to be preferred as a Chief Magistrate of the nation. It is enough to say, without dwelling upon matters concerning myself, that I concluded as early as February 1824, to vote for Mr. Adams as a second choice in the event of Mr. Clay's exclusion from the House; subject at all times to a change of opinion for such reasons as ought to influence the judgment of a public agent, desirous of discharging his public trusts faithfully and honestly; and intending at the proper season to consult fully and freely with the rest of my colleagues; holding myself at liberty all along to consider the claims of Mr. Crawford, if his health should be restored, which, however, I thought improbable, if not impossible. It so happened, that the honorable Robert Trimble, then a Judge of the Federal Court for the District of Kentucky, and now one of the Ju

tices of the Supreme Court of the United States, came to the City of Washington, in the month of February 1824, and I well remember that I conversed with him freely upon the subject of the election. I informed him of my preference for Mr. Adams as a second choice, and explained to him the principles and views of policy which would govern me in making the selection. I gave him my opinion of Mr. Adams as a statesman, and probably went so far as to mention some of my objections to General Jackson. The recollections of Judge Trimble on the subject have been asked for, and if received in time shall be enclosed.

My preference to Mr. Adams was strengthened by the occurrences of the session ending in May 1824. It was manifest to me from what I saw and heard, that the bitterness of opposition to measures in favor of agriculture, internal improvements, and domestic manufactures had increased, and was increasing in the South, and I was satisfied that the American System of policy, including our Western interests in it, could not be sustained in Congress, without the co-operation of members in favor of the System from the Eastern States, as well as from the Middle and the Western States. I concluded, and rightly too I think, as time will show, that the best, if not the only way to ensure the success of the American System, and sustain our Western interests in it, would be to elect Mr. Adams, if Mr. Clay should be defeated.

In this state of mind I met with Mr. Clay at Frankfort, in Kentucky, about the first of October, 1824. It was my impression at the time, from the news of the day, and other sources of information, that Mr. Crawford would get some sixty or seventy electoral votes, and that Mr. Clay would be left out of the House. We conversed for some time about the election; and in the course of conversation, after speaking freely to him about his own chances and prospects, I asked him which of the other candidates he would vote for in the event of a failure on his part: He said, that the event supposed would place him in a delicate attitude before the House and nation; that a choice among his competitors under any aspect of it, would be painful and embarrassing: That from recent information, the restoration of Mr. Crawford's health was entirely hopeless, and that he could not consistently with his principles vote for Gen. Jackson under any possible circumstances. I gave it as my opinion, that General Jackson was not qualified to fill the station, and discharge its multifarious and complicated duties, foreign and domestic: To this he agreed, and added, that the impartial world would probably consider Mr. Adams better qualified than either Jackson, Crawford, or himself: That at all events, (Crawford aside,) the difference in point of qualification was so clear and obvious in favor of Adams, that his motives might be questioned by impartial men, if he should vote for Jackson; and that he would be unable to defend the vote, because in his own judgment it would afford just ground of censure.

He made several objections to General Jackson, and in the course of his remarks, expressed himself decidedly hostile to the selection of military men to administer the civil government of free nations. *No nation, he said, had ever done it with impunity:* The warnings

of history were against it: He considered it a bad example, and a dangerous experiment; and declared that he would not give it the sanction of a precedent in our government by any act of his. He turned the conversation to the Seminole war, and to the occurrences connected with it—referred particularly to the constitutional principles which were brought forward and supported by himself and Mr. Lowndes and others in the course of the debate upon that subject, and declared that he could not consent to place General Jackson at the head of the nation, after seeing him trample upon the Constitution, and violate the rights of humanity, as he had done at the head of the army, in the progress of that war.

I made some reference to the supposed difference of opinion between himself and Mr. Adams about the Treaty of Ghent. He said in reply, that it had been greatly magnified by the friends of his competitors for electioneering purposes—that it ought to have no influence in the vote which he might be called upon to give—that if he was weak enough to allow his personal feelings to influence his public conduct, there would be no change in his mind on that account, because he was then upon much worse terms with Gen. Jackson about the Seminole war, than he could ever be with Mr. Adams about the Treaty of Ghent—but that in the selection of a Chief Magistrate for the union he would endeavor to disregard all private feelings, and look entirely to the interests of the country, and the safety of its institutions.

He spoke at large upon the subjects of agriculture, internal improvements, and domestic manufactures—said, that he was pledged to the nation in support of the American System of policy, and of all measures favorable to it—that his own election had been advocated by his friends in part upon that ground, and that he would consider it a duty to himself and friends to strengthen the great cause in which they were all engaged, as much as possible. In this respect he was satisfied, he said, that Mr. Adams was the best choice, and that if there was no other ground of preference, he would feel himself bound on that account to vote for him.

I do not remember whether I informed Mr. Clay of my own preference for Mr. Adams at that time or not, but am inclined to think I did not, and I am satisfied that I had not done so on any previous occasion. It is known to me that Mr. Clay had a similar conversation about the same period, with a citizen of Kentucky—who stands as high as any man in it—to whom he made known his intention to vote for Mr. Adams, and gave various reasons why he would do so, declaring at the same time, that he would not vote for Gen. Jackson in any possible event. The reasons given by him to the gentleman alluded to, so far as they have been detailed to me, are similar to those which he assigned to me in favor of his preference for Adams. I am not authorized to name the person alluded to, but have no doubt that he would willingly furnish a statement of the conversation which Mr. Clay held with him, if it should be considered necessary or material.

I should have thought strange of it, if Mr. Clay had voted for Gen. Jackson after saying what he did of military men, and military vio-

lence and rashness, in the debate upon the Seminole war; and still more strange after declaring—as he has often done in my hearing—in the most solemn manner, that the Constitution had been trampled down and violated by the lawless arm of military power in that war; and stranger still, after advancing the opinions and principles, and giving the votes which he did on that occasion; but, I should have been astonished beyond measure if he had supported Gen. Jackson for the Presidency, after what he said to me at Frankfort on the subject. A vote, so much at war with his principles and inclinations, and so entirely contrary to his better judgment, and his known avowed intentions would have left me in amazement, and I am bold to say, that I should have turned my back upon him and voted for Adams, even if I had been in a minority of the delegation from the State. I say, that I would have turned my back upon him, and I would certainly have done so, because, knowing what I did, I should have been compelled to doubt the integrity of his character, and the soundness of his political principles. *If he had voted for Jackson and taken office under him, my amazement would have had no limits.* A change of principles and preference so sudden and singular, and so inconsistent with his previous character and conduct, could not have been explained upon the ordinary approveable motives of human action; and I should have been driven to suspect the existence of extraordinary seducements, and censurable compliances. Voting as he has done. I still consider him—as I always did—an able, independent, fearless statesman; uncorrupted, and incorruptable.

I am satisfied in my own mind, that the imputations of corruption made against Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams by their enemies, are entirely groundless. Speaking for myself, I am bound to say in justice to both of them, that I have no knowledge of any fact or circumstance connected with them, or either of them, directly or indirectly, which throws a shade of doubt upon the fairness of their conduct in the election.

Some days after the election, Mr. Adams made an offer of the Department of State to Mr. Clay, and requested a conference with him. The course pursued by Mr. Clay from that time until he concluded to accept the office, forbids the belief that he had any previous assurances from Mr. Adams, or that there was any previous understanding between them on the subject.

With assurances of regard, I am, Sir, yours very respectfully,  
DAVID TRIMBLE.

*Tobias Watkins, Esq.*

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*Paris, (Ken.) August 13, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: In consequence of my absence from home, I did not receive your letter of the 8th July, until after my return from the Court at Columbus, Ohio, on Monday evening, the 9th inst.

You request me to state the substance of a conversation which took place between us at the City of Washington, in February or March, 1824, after having visited Mr. Crawford together, in relation to the then next Presidential election.

The occasion has passed over in which a statement of that conversation would have been of any direct service to you; yet, as it may be some satisfaction to you to know what my recollection is of the conversation alluded to, I will state it.

While in the City, in February and March, 1824, I visited Mr. Crawford several times. I recollect, perfectly, that, on one occasion, you and I went together to pay him a visit of respect, as we both entertained for him a very high regard. In going to, and returning from, Mr. Crawford's we conversed freely about his health, and on the subject of the approaching Presidential election; and I have a distinct recollection of what passed, after leaving him, on our way to our lodgings, at Brown's. You asked me what I thought of Mr. Crawford's health, and of the probability of its restoration, so as to enable him to discharge the duties of President. I answered, that my opinion was decisively against the probability of his recovery, so as to be able to undergo the labors, and discharge the duties of the office; and that I thought his restoration so as to justify his election, might be considered hopeless. I added my conviction that he could not recover, and that his life would be endangered, until he quit his present office, and left the city with all its cares and troubles behind him. You expressed your entire concurrence; and remarked, that you had wished to know whether my deliberate views of his condition corresponded with those you had previously formed. The conversation turned upon the probability of the election of President coming, ultimately, before the House of Representatives. We concurred in opinion, that, from the number of candidates, it was improbable any one would have a majority of the Electoral votes; and that if Mr. Crawford's friends continued to entertain hopes of his recovery, and to press his claims to the Presidency, it was doubtful whether he or Mr. Clay would be left out of the House. You expressed the opinion that, (Clay aside,) Mr. Adams was the safest and best choice, and that the friends of agriculture, internal improvements, and domestic manufactures, ought to unite upon him in the event of Mr. Clay's exclusion from the House. You remarked, that you had once entertained some prejudices against Mr. Adams as a statesman, but that the more you had seen of him as a statesman the more you had been convinced, these prepossessions were not well-founded. You alluded to the tariff bill of 1824, then under discussion in Congress; expressed your determination to support it as a system of protection to domestic manufactures; and said, if you should have to vote, as a member of the House of Representatives in the election of President, you would vote for the man who, and whose friends you should think most favorable to what you called the American System. You said that Mr. Clay had been the great champion of that system; that if we lost him, you thought Mr. Adams and his friends, next most favorable to it; that you could not, and would not vote for any man who, and whose friends, you believed to be united in opposition to it; that some of Mr. Adams' friends were opposed to it, but many of them in favor of it, and that you believed his opinions were favorable to the system. I remarked, that it was, perhaps, too early to make up a *definitive* opinion, in the event of the election coming into the House of

representatives;—that the views of men, and of parties, in reference to these great national interests of agriculture, internal improvements, and domestic manufactures, would probably be further developed before the election. You answered, true; but that you had thought much upon the system for their encouragement and protection; that you had made up your opinion upon it; and you added, emphatically, “My creed is fixed as to the principles which must influence my decision.”

In other conversations with me at the City, I understood you as indicating similar views; but in the particular conversation above detailed, you were more explicit than in any other; and the very emphatic manner in which you concluded your remarks, made a strong and lasting impression on my memory, and satisfied me, that in the events contemplated, you would vote for Mr. Adams, unless something should transpire before the election, to change your opinion of him, in reference to your favorite system.

With sentiments of sincere regard, your obedient servant,  
ROBERT TRIMBLE.

*Mr. David Trimble.*

*Bowling Green, 23d May, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 2d instant is received, in which you call my attention to the extract of a letter, said to be written by “a highly respectable Virginian,” dated Nashville, 8th of March last, and which you recite as follows: “He, [General Jackson,] told me this morning, *before all his company*, in reply to a question I put to him, concerning the election of J. Q. Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay’s friends made a proposition to his friends, that if they would promise, *for him, not to* put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would, in *one hour*, make *him*, Jackson, the President. He most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared he would not compromise himself, and unless most *openly and fairly* made the President, he would not receive it. He declared that he said to them, he would see the earth sink under him, before he would bargain or intrigue for it.”

Previous to the receipt of yours, I had observed this extract in the papers. I viewed it as a sheer fabrication, another instance of the out pourings of that disappointed ambition, prejudice, and envious malignity, which have been so bountifully bestowed on Mr. Clay and some of his friends, for the last two years and a half; and such it seemed to me it ought to have been esteemed, so long as it rested alone on the authority of an anonymous writer. For several reasons I do not think we ought to give credence to General Jackson’s having made such a statement, without good proof of the fact. Viewing the publication in the light I have mentioned, I had not supposed any notice of it could be called for or expected.

I have no hesitation, however, in answering your inquiries. After reciting the above extract, you say to me, “If such a proposition were *ever made* by the friends of Mr. Clay to those of General Jackson, it *must have been known* to many persons, and the fact, therefore, may be ascertained. May I ask the favor of you to inform me whether you

know or believe any such proposition was ever made? Or whether conditions, of any sort, were made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend?"

To the first branch of the inquiry, my answer is, that I have no knowledge of any such proposition, nor do I believe any such was ever made.

To the second I answer, that I neither know of, nor do I believe, that any "conditions, of any sort, were made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on compliance with which their vote was to depend."

Very respectfully, your humble servant,

FR. JOHNSON.

T. Watkins, Esq.

Mason County, Ky. 12th June, 1827.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 2nd of May last, addressed to me at Carlisle, in this State, having been duly received by my family, and handed to me on my return home a few days ago from the State of Mississippi, I hasten to give you the information required. As to the letter which is said to have been written by "a highly respectable Virginian," dated at Nashville, on the 8th day of last March, which first appeared in the Fayetteville Observer, stating that he, the writer, had been told that morning by the General, *before all his company*, that a proposition had been made by the friends of Mr. Clay to the friends of Jackson, that if they would promise *for him not* to put Mr. Adams in the Seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would in *one hour* make him, Jackson, President, &c." I have, to state, that I never heard or thought of such a proposition, until the letter of the "highly respectable Virginian" appeared in the Public Prints. Some time before the Presidential vote was given in the House of Representatives, I well remember to have heard it stated by some one, that in the event of the election of General Jackson, Mr. Adams would most probably be withdrawn from the National Cabinet, and made Governor of Massachusetts; that it was not likely that *he would accept* an appointment under the General if offered to him. Neither before, nor since that election, have I interchanged a word with Mr. Adams respecting it. But my opinion at that time was that if not elected, he would retire from the Cabinet, as a matter of choice, and not of necessity. As *one of the friends of Mr. Clay*, I enter the most solemn protest against the right of the General, through his organ, the "highly respectable Virginian," or otherwise, to say that I would have assisted in making him President on the conditions stated. On the contrary, if I could have been made to believe that General Jackson would *not have offered* to Mr. Adams, the place which he had filled with so much ability under Mr. Monroe, *that belief* would have constituted in my mind a strong additional objection to the General's success. I should then have taken it for granted, that it was the intention of the General to surround himself with that class or party of politicians with whom he had in a great degree become identified, and between whom and myself there existed such a radical difference of opinion in relation to the great leading question of national policy. I allude to the army, the anti-tariff and anti-internal improvement parties. If it is intended to impose the belief that Mr. Clay's friends were desirous of obtaining that appoin

ment for him, to the exclusion of Mr. Adams or otherwise, under Gen. Jackson, as one of his friends. I pronounce it a base and an infamous assault upon the motives and honor, so far as I am concerned or believe, of those who did not choose to support him for the Presidency.

In reply to your second inquiry, I have to say that, if conditions of any sort were ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend, I knew nothing of it. Believing that Mr. Clay would not have accepted an appointment under the General, I am at a loss to conjecture where, or from whom the authority for making such propositions could have been derived. But if any individual, calling himself the friend of Mr. Clay, did make proposals of such a character, why not name the man, and let him state to the public by what authority he made them?

With great respect, I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS METCALFE.

T. Watkins, Esqr. 4th Aud. Trea. Department.

Lancaster, Ky. 26th June, 1827.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 2d May, did not reach me until a day or two ago. You inquire whether I know any thing in relation to the following statement, said to have been made by "a highly respectable Virginian:" "He, General Jackson, told me this morning, before all his company, in reply to a question I put to him, concerning the election of J. Q. Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends, that if they would promise for him, not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would, in one hour, make him, Jackson, the President."

I know of no such proposition or intimation, nor have I a knowledge of any fact or circumstance which would induce me to believe Mr. Clay's friends, or any one of them, ever made such a proposition to the friends of General Jackson.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

R. P. LETCHER.

T. Watkins, Esq.

Greensburgh, Ky May 26, 1827.

DEAR SIR: Having been absent from home, for some time, yours of the 2d of this month was not received until a day or two since. You mention a letter, said to have been written by "a highly respectable Virginian," dated at Nashville, 8th of March last, which first appeared in the Fayette Observer, in which General Jackson is represented as having said, before all his company, in reply to a question put to him by the Virginian, concerning the election of J. Q. Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends, that if they would promise, for him, not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of the Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would, in one hour, make him, Jackson, the President."

In answer to your inquiries on this subject, I will remark, that I have no reason to believe that any such proposition was made. Indeed no proposition, of any description, relating to the election of President, was made, so far as I know or believe, by Mr. Clay's friends to those of General Jackson, or of any other person.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

RICHARD A. BUCKNER.

T. Watkins, Esq.

*Yellow Banks, 19th June, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: I did not answer your letter of the 2d May last, and the apology I offer I expected General Jackson would have contradicted the report of the conversation he had with the "*respectable Virginian*," or that he would have designated the friend of Mr Clay who made the proposition to make him President, if he would not make Mr. Adams Secretary.

If I had not have been disappointed in my expectations, an answer from me would have been unnecessary.

General Jackson remains silent, and the only inference to be drawn is that he did have the conversation alluded to with the Virginian.

I now answer your inquiry, and say I know of no proposition made by the friends of Mr. Clay to the friends of General Jackson to make him President if he would not select Mr. Adams to the seat of Secretary, and I do not believe a proposition of any kind was made, and I expect if the friend of the General should ever speak on this subject, he will be a second Kremer.

Yours, with respect,

P. THOMPSON.

T. Watkins, Esq.

*Baton Rouge, July 17, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 1st of May, in which you inquire whether I know or believe that the friends of Mr. Clay during the pendency of the last Presidential Election, proposed to the friends of Gen Jackson to make him the President upon condition that he would not continue Mr. Adams Secretary of State. I reply, that I have no knowledge of any propositions having been made by the friends of Mr. Clay, or any of them, to the friends of General Jackson, or to any other person, in relation to the election of President; or the proposition of conditions of any sort, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend; I believe the charge wholly destitute of truth.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. H. GURLEY.

Doctor T. Watkins.

*St. Martinsville, Attathapas, La. 4th June, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: I had seen the letter you alluded to in the Public Prints before I received yours of the 1st May. I cannot express to

indignant feelings it excited. It is the fabrication of a desperate man, who, to obtain his object, dares to assert what he knows to be false. You ask me to say, whether I "know or believe that such a proposition was ever made, or whether conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any one, on the compliance of which their vote was made to depend." No honorable man can believe for a moment that such a proposition was ever made, or such a condition stipulated. I was a friend of Mr. Clay's throughout the contest; I was in the confidence of all his friends, and I declare to God that I never heard of such thing, until it was asserted by the disappointed adherents of Gen. Jackson. I am not only ignorant of any such arrangements, but do not believe they ever existed. I know full well, that at the time the charge was made by General Jackson or his friends, that no person with whom I conversed believed Mr. Clay had acted improperly, except the adherents of General Jackson, who, I shall always believe, felt angry at Mr. Clay and his friends for having too much firmness in the first instance to be acted upon by their violence; and in the second instance, too much integrity and love of Country to yield to a faction headed by a Military Chief, without talents, and whose life is a history of immorality, bloodshed, and violation of the laws of God and of his Country. I well recollect that the high-minded and honorable friends of Mr. Crawford, amongst whom I name the Hon. Mr. Forsyth of Georgia, the Hon. Mr. Stevenson of Virginia, the Hon. Mr. Williams, Saunders, Edwards of North Carolina, and others whom I could name, and amongst them the Hon. Sam. Smith of Maryland, in frequent conversations with me, repelled such charges, as the effusions of disappointed men, and approved of the choice made by the friends of Mr. Clay, in preference to General Jackson. I regret now to see these gentlemen, all except Mr. Williams, acting against their *then* opinions. I regret it the more, for I entertain for each of them the highest esteem, nor can I believe that they will persist in a course which will end in their support of General Jackson. I am not astonished at their opposing the Administration, as it is friendly to "Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures," but I can never believe that they will give a preference to a man like Gen. Jackson over our present Chief Magistrate.

I think the friends of Mr. Clay ought to contradict the base unfounded charge: as one, I am determined that such an accusation shall not rest upon me. If General Jackson does not establish his assertion, (which he cannot), he ought to stand forth to the world, as a proven base calumniator, as unworthy of public or private confidence, and avoided by every man who has a respect for virtue and for honor.

Your obedient servant,

WM. BRENT.

P.S. You may use this letter as you think proper. I shall be at Washington about 15th July, when I will see you.

*St. Genevieve, Missouri, August 2nd, 1824.*

**DEAR SIR:** I saw some time since, in the Public Prints, a letter said to have been written from Nashville, by a highly respectable Virginian, detailing a conversation held by him with Gen. Jackson in relation to the last Presidential Election. I have since seen and perused a letter of General Jackson himself to Mr. Carter Beverly, of the 6th of June, on the same subject. I was one of the open and avowed friends of Mr. Clay, in the last Presidential contest, and held one of the twenty-four votes on that important occasion. So far, therefore, as I am implicated in the communication of the Virginian, and the letter of General Jackson, I deem it my duty to make the following statement, and place it in the hands of some gentleman at the seat of Government to be used at discretion.

1. Neither Mr. Adams, nor his friends ever made any promises or overtures to me, nor did they hold out to me any inducements of any sort, kind, or character whatever, to procure me to vote for Mr. Adams. Nor did Mr. Adams, or any of his friends, ever say or insinuate who would be placed at the head of the Department of State, or any other Department, in the event that Mr. Adams should be elected; nor do I believe any propositions were made to Mr. Clay or his friends by Mr. Adams or his friends:—if there were, I know it not.

2. I was frequently with Mr. Crawford, but he never hinted at the Presidential Election. The friends of Mr. Crawford, including Thomas H. Benton, T. W. Cobb, Jesse B. Thomas, Lewis McLane, Mr. Van Buren, and others, did press me to vote for Mr. Crawford, which, (having lost Mr. Clay,) I readily admit, I was inclined to do had his health been good, and would my vote have availed him. They urged, however, no reasons other than the promotion of virtue, talents, and integrity; nor did I understand his friends as acting by the authority or consent of Mr. Crawford.

3. The friends of Gen. Jackson, (including Thomas H. Benton, after he had abandoned Mr. Crawford,) did urge me in the most impetuous manner to vote for Gen. Jackson, but I did not understand them as doing so by the advice or consent of Gen. Jackson, though they frequently said he would do great things for the west if elected, that he was a man of strong gratitude, and would go the whole for his friends and against his enemies.

4. I never exchanged one syllable with Gen. Jackson in person on the subject of the Presidential Election, neither before or after the Election. I never made to General Jackson, or to any of his friends, any proposition in reference to the Presidential Election, either as regarded the appointment of Mr. Clay, or any other person, to office, or the exclusion of Mr. Adams or any other person from office. I was never spoken to by Mr. Clay or any of his friends about making any proposition to General Jackson or his friends of any kind whatsoever; nor did I ever hear it insinuated or hinted that any proposition was made or intended to be made by Mr. Clay, or his friends, to General Jackson or his friends, or to any other candidate or their friends, for or relating to the Presidency; and I do

believe had any proposition been made, or intended to have been made by Mr. Clay, or his friends, from my intimacy and constant intercourse with them, I should have known or heard thereof.

5. I never consulted or advised with any one how I should vote, except with the two Senators from my own State, and with Mr. Clay whose advice I voluntarily solicited. The answer of Mr. Clay to me when I requested his opinion and advice was substantially this: That I personally knew all the Candidates well, that he would give no opinion that might go to the prejudice of any Candidate, or operate to influence any Elector; that all he would say was that I ought not to be hasty and commit myself, but wait till the last moment for advices from my State, to the Legislature of which, then in session, I had applied for information on the subject of the Election.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
JOHN SCOTT.

Doctor T. Watkins, Esqr.

(B.)

Frankfort, September 3d 1827.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 23d of July last, and cannot hesitate to give you the statement you have requested.

Some time in the fall of 1824, conversing upon the subject of [the] then pending presidential election, and speaking in reference to your exclusion from the contest, and to your being called upon to decide and vote between the other candidates who might be returned to the House of Representatives, you declared that you could not, or that it was impossible for you to vote for General Jackson, in any event. Such, I think, was nearly the language used by you, and, I am satisfied, contains the substance of what you said. My impression is, that this conversation took place at Captain Weisiger's tavern, in this town, not very long before you went on to Congress, in the fall preceding the last presidential election; and that the declaration made by you, as above stated, was elicited by some intimation that fell from me, of my preference for General Jackson over all the other candidates except yourself. It was one of the many casual conversations we had together upon the subject of that election, and various other subjects, and had entirely escaped from my mind, until my attention was particularly recalled to it after the election.

I will only add, sir, that I have casually learned from my friend, Col. James Davidson, our State Treasurer, (what you may probably have forgotten,) that you conversed with him about the same time upon the same subject, and made to him, in substance, the same declaration that you did to me.

Notwithstanding the reluctance I feel at having my humble name drawn before the public, I could not, in justice, refuse to give you the above statement of facts, with permission to use it as you may think proper for the purpose of your own vindication.

I have the honor to be, yours, &c.

J. J. CRITTENDEN.

Hon. H. CLAY, Secretary of State.

*Frankfort, 20th October, 1827.*

SIR: During a visit you made to this place, in the fall of 1824, and, I think, only a few days prior to your leaving Kentucky to attend the Congress of the United States, you and myself were in conversation about the then pending presidential election; in the course of which I remarked, "Mr Clay, you will have to encounter some difficulty in making a selection amongst the candidates, should you be excluded from the House." You replied, "I suppose not much; in that event, I will endeavor to do my duty faithfully." I then observed, "I know you have objections to General Jackson, and rumor says, you have some to Mr. Adams, also—and the health of Mr. Crawford is said to be very precarious: these are the reasons which induced me to suppose there would be some difficulty. You, in reply, remarked, "I cannot conceive of any event that can possibly happen, which could induce me to support the election of General Jackson to the presidency: For, if I had no other objection, his want of the necessary qualifications would be sufficient." Your remarks made a strong and lasting impression on my mind; and, when the resolutions, instructing our Senators, and requesting our Representatives, in Congress, to vote for Gen. Jackson, were under discussion in the House of Representatives, I informed several of my friends, that I had had a conversation with you on the subject to which the resolutions referred, and that I was convinced you would not support the General; and to George Robertson, Esq. late Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State, I gave the substance of your remarks to me, and he concurred with me in the opinion that you could not, consistently, under any circumstances, vote for the General; and when the resolutions, above mentioned, were before the Senate, (in which I then had the honor of a seat,) I opposed them, and amongst other views I then took, I stated to that body, "that all the resolutions we could pass during the whole session, would not induce you to abandon what you conceived to be your duty, and that I knew you could not concur with the majority of the legislature on that subject."

Yours, respectfully,

JAMES DAVIDSON.

*H. Clay, Esq.*

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*Washington, November 17, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 26th, I have no hesitation to state the purport of the several conversations that I had with you in relation to the Presidential election during the session of 1824-5.

I met you, for the first time on your return to Washington, in December 1824, on the Saturday or Sunday evening previous to the meeting of Congress, and at that time we had a long and free conversation on the approaching election. I said to you, it was still uncertain whether you or Mr. Crawford would be returned to the House of Representatives, but, from the information I had, I believed that you would receive the vote of Louisiana, and be returned as the third candidate.

I expressed to you some solicitude about the election, and the hope that we should pass quietly through it; I said that I apprehended a protracted struggle; that while three candidates remained before the House, it would be difficult for either to obtain a majority. That the excitement which the contest naturally produced would daily increase, that the parties would become obstinate, that the people might be dissatisfied, and that some agitation might be produced. That for the character, as well as the tranquillity of the country, it was desirable that we should pass through it safely.—You replied, that you would not permit the country to be disturbed a day on your account, that you would not allow your name to interfere with the prompt decision of the question by the House. I said, if it becomes necessary the country has a right to expect, and will expect that of you.

You informed me you had seen Mr. Crawford, that you had been shocked with his appearance, that notwithstanding all you had heard, you had no idea of his actual condition. And, after expressing the sympathy which his misfortunes excited, you said he was incapable of performing the duties of the Executive, and it was out of the question to think of making him President.

I remarked to you, that in all probability, the contest would be finally reduced to Mr. Adams and Gen Jackson, and the conversation turned upon their comparative merit and qualifications, and a long discussion ensued; you drew a parallel between them, in a manner I thought very just and respectful to both. You concluded by expressing a preference for Mr. Adams, which turned principally on his talents and experience in civil affairs. I alluded to your critical position between the two parties, and the great personal responsibility under which you would act. You said it was true, but it could not be avoided, it was a duty imposed by your situation, that you would meet it as any other public duty.

I intimated to you, that in the present stage, it would be improper to make known your sentiments, that there were strong motives for your not taking an active part in the contest. I suggested the relation in which you stood to the House, to the parties, and to the country, and said that great influence would be attributed to your opinion, that all parties would look to your course with interest, and that you would act under great responsibility. I thought there was no necessity for increasing the difficulty of your situation, by taking a part in the election, and that it would be better to let it take its course. I left you under the impression that you concurred in these views.

I saw you again on the return of the votes from Louisiana, by which it was ascertained that you were excluded from the House. I then took the liberty of repeating to you all that I had before said *in regard to the course you ought to pursue.* I urged the *consideration of your being the presiding officer of the House, where*

new questions might arise during the election, and such other reflections as occurred to me. You said you were aware of the danger, as well as the delicacy of your position, and that you would leave your friends perfectly at liberty to exercise their own judgments. I will add that no instance came within my knowledge in which you deviated from this course. My opinion was, and still is, that you behaved with the greatest propriety, in the situation in which you were placed.

I conversed with you in a walk to the Capitol on the instructions of the Legislature of Kentucky. You still expressed your determination to vote for Mr. Adams. You said the Legislature had no right to direct you in the discharge of your duty; that you had received no instructions to vote for Gen. Jackson from your own district, that the instructions and letters you had received, directed you to pay no attention to the Legislative instructions, but to act upon your own judgment and do the best for the country. You said you were not only free to choose, but you were under a great personal responsibility. That you would acquit yourself in the discharge of this duty, by making the best choice under all circumstances. That you believed Mr. Adams was the ablest and safest man, and you would act under that conviction.

I called on you on the morning of the publication of your card. You said that I would now see that the delicacy you had observed had procured no respect or forbearance towards you; you spoke with some indignation at the means which had been employed, as well as the motives of those by whom you were assailed. You spoke of anonymous letters full of abuse and menace, letters written at Washington, to be published at different places, and of the letter which had been noticed in your Card, &c. I observed, you must expect all this.—You must have foreseen that at some time the storm would burst on your head,—You must prepare to meet it firmly, and bear it patiently. A public man must rely upon the weight of his character, and the justice of his Country, and I added that I still believed the course you had pursued in the election the most correct. You said you should continue as you had done to disregard newspaper and anonymous abuse, but this paper was published on the authority of a member of the H. of Representatives, and therefore deserved to be met openly.

In referring to the terms of this letter, you observed that you did not know that you would be offered a place in any administration, nor did you know who would compose the cabinet of either Candidate. That you could not be the member of any cabinet that would require you to advocate principles different from those you had always maintained before the Public, and for the support of which your public character was pledged.

On the tender of the office of Secretary of State, you consulted

with me on the acceptance or refusal of the office. You stated all the reasons private and public, for and against the acceptance, and asked my opinion. I said it was an occasion in which you ought to consult freely your friends and act by their advice. My own opinion is, you must accept; in the situation in which you have been placed by circumstances you have no choice;—and I suggested some reasons of a public nature why you ought to be a member of the Cabinet.

After your nomination was confirmed, you informed me that you had requested Gen. Harrison to move for a Committee in the Senate, if any thing occurred to make it necessary. I replied that I did not think any thing had occurred to require a Committee on your part.

The foregoing is the purport of several conversations; I cannot pretend to preserve the language, but it is a true and faithful statement of the substance of your opinions and views so far as they were known to me.

I avail myself of the occasion, although not called for by your letter, to state that I had occasional communications with you and several of your friends in which the conversation was free and unreserved.

That no fact ever came to my knowledge, that could in the slightest degree justify the charge which has been exhibited. On the contrary, I know that your opinion did not undergo any change from the time I first saw you on your return to Washington. I have reason to believe that any silence and reserve which you observed during the contest, was dictated by a sentiment of delicacy to the Candidates, and by a sense of self-respect, as well as of duty to the office you held in the House.

I will add that during the present summer, I met with two Gentlemen in the State of Mississippi, who voluntarily told me that they heard you express your decided preference of Mr. Adams at Lexington, before you left home for Washington.

With great regard, your obedient servant,  
J. S. JOHNSTON.

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*Washington, December 8th, 1827.*

**DEAR SIR:** In answer to your esteemed favor of the 7th inst. requesting me to state any recollection that I may have of a conversation which took place at your lodgings, concerning the election of President of the United States. I can say, I distinctly recollect that on the 20th December 1824, which was the day of my arrival here from the State of Louisiana to take my seat in the Senate of the United States, I called on you the same evening, and in the course of a conversation, in which I informed you that you had lost the votes of Louisiana, I desired to know, who you

intended to vote for as President, you then told me without any hesitation ; that you would vote for Mr. Adams in preference to Gen. Jackson.

With great respect, yours respectfully,  
D. BOULIGNY.

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*Washington, August 14th, 1827.*

I certify that in the early part of the session of Congress 24-5, I dined at the Columbian College with General La Fayette, Mr. Clay and others—on returning from that dinner to town, Mr. Clay and myself (there being no other person with us) came in the same hack. During the ride our conversation turned on the then depending presidential election. I expressed myself, in the event of the contest being narrowed down to Mr. Adams and General Jackson, in favour of Mr. Adams ; and Mr. Clay expressed a coincidence of opinion.

JAMES BARBOUR.

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*La Grange, Oct. 10, 1827.*

MY DEAR SIR: Having accidentally omitted the last opportunity to answer your most valued favor, August 10th, I avail myself of the next packet to offer my affectionate thanks, and request, as much as the pressure of business allows it, the very high gratification of your correspondence.

Your diplomatic accounts from Europe leave little to say ; and, although a member of that House, by courtesy, called Representative, I am not the wiser nor shall I be the more useful for it. A dissolution of the House is much spoken of—the ministry are recording the new electoral lists in consequence of a late bill mingling the vote of election with the duties of juror, to which, however, some additions have been made. As the public mind is progressing, and several wilful errors have been forcibly rectified, a liberal opposition cannot fail to be more numerous: The question with government is—whether they will this year meet a larger minority, with a seven years new lease, or hereafter risk to have a majority against them, or at least a stronger opposition than that to which, in case of dissolution, they must now submit.

The account of the funerals of Manuel having been indicted before an inferior tribunal, and our speeches on his tomb making a part of the impeachment of the publishers, it became the duty of Mon. Lafitte, , and myself to claim our share in the trial, which we could not obtain ; but a judgment of the Court, very properly and liberally worded, has acquitted the selected objects of the accusation. An appeal from that decision to the Superior Court, has, it is said, taken place.

The intervention of three great Powers in the affairs of Greece seem to promise a respite, although it has not prevented the arrival of an Egyptian fleet and a body of soldiers. There is, however, some good in the notification made by the French and English Admirals impeding further progress. The mediation has been accepted by the Greeks. The Ottoman Porte hitherto refuses it. So far, they oblige the mediators to commit themselves a little more, and if they are sincere, the Porte must yield at last. It is obvious to every looker on that those powers are jealous of liberty, of complete emancipation, and jealous of each other. If any body can play the difficult game, it must be Capodistria, who is now on his third station, that of Paris, before he proceeds to the Presidential Chair. He unites in his person an exclusive coincidence of happy circumstances. After he has managed those discordant elements, there will be other discordances to be managed at home, for which he also seems to be the proper and exclusive man. Upon the whole, the existence of Greece is rather more secured than it has been of late.

I have received a letter from our friend Poinsett, and cannot but observe with him the general and especial attempts that have been lately directed against the peace, harmony, and institutions of the Republican States of South America and Mexico. It is very natural to see the Republican Minister of North America, but to those monarchical and aristocratical factions. That the imputation is given from Europe, is not, I think, to be questioned; but I have received with deep regret the part of your letter alluding to a man whose glory, great talents, and hitherto experienced patriotism I have delighted to cherish. Several painful informations had reached me, which, altogether, and many more besides, could not weigh so much with me as your own sense of the matter. I beg you to continue to write on the subject, and on every matter relative to public concerns, to my friends, and particularly to you who know my old, grateful, and sincere affection.

Blessed as I have lately been with the welcome, and conscious, as it is my happy lot to be, of the affection and confidence of all parties, and all men in every party within the United States, feelings which I most cordially reciprocate, I ever have thought myself bound to avoid taking any part in local or personal divisions. Indeed, if I thought that in these matters my influence could be of any avail, it should be solely exerted to deprecate, not by far, the free, republican, and full discussion of principles and candidates, but those invidious slanders which, although they are happily repelled by the good sense, the candor, and in domestic instances, by the delicacy of the American people, tend to give abroad incorrect and disparaging impressions. Yet that line of conduct, from which I must not deviate, except in imminent cases now out of the question, does not imply a forgetfulness of facts, *nor a refusal to state them occasionally.* My remembrance con-

curs with your own on this point that, in the later end of December, either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the Presidential Candidature, and after having expressed my abovementioned motives of forbearance, I, by way of a confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple unqualified question respecting your electioneering guess, and your intended vote. Your answer was that, in your opinion, the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preference, and that you had concluded to vote for Mr. Adams. Such has been, if not the literal wording, at least the precise sense of a conversation which it would have been inconsistent for me to carry further and not to keep a secret, while a recollection of it, to assist your memory, I should not now deny, not only to you as my friend, but to any man in a similar situation.

Present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Clay—remember me to all your family, and to our friends in Washington. I will write by the same packet to the President. Believe me forever your sincere obliged friend.

LAFAYETTE.

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(C.)

*Rockville, Nov. 3, 1827.*

DEAR SIR: You requested me to state the expressions used by Gen. Call on his way to Congress in 1824 touching the contemplated vote of Mr. Clay for President. In the annexed statement, I have complied with your request. There was much other conversation, but I have confined myself strictly to your inquiry.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,  
JOHN BRADDOCK.

*B. S. Forest, Esq.*

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*Rockville, Montgomery County, (Md.) Nov. 3, 1827.*

In the Fall of the year 1824 I saw Gen. Call and several other Gentlemen, members of Congress, on their way to Washington, at a tavern in Rockville; they were conversing on the subject of the Presidential election, and when the vote which Mr. Clay would probably give was spoken of, Gen. Call declared that the friends of Gen. Jackson did not expect Mr. Clay to vote for him, and if he did so, it would be an act of duplicity upon his part.

JOHN BRADDOCK.

In stating the declaration of Gen. Call on the subject of Mr. Clay's vote, I have omitted an expletive which should have been introduced before the word duplicity. Save that the foregoing is literally his language.

J. B.

(D.)

*Philadelphia, Oct. 2, 1827.*

SIR: In answer to yours of yesterday's date requesting me to state to you the particulars of some remarks which you were informed I had heard General Jackson use on the subject of the last Presidential Election. I have to state that on my way down the Ohio from Wheeling to Cincinnati in the month of March 1825, on board the Steam Boat General Neville among many other passengers, were Gen. Jackson and a number of gentlemen from Pennsylvania, some of whom remarked to the General that they regretted that he had not been elected President instead of Mr. Adams. General Jackson replied that if he would have made the same promises and offers to Mr. Clay that Mr. Adams had done, he (General Jackson) would then in that case have been in the Presidential Chair, but he would make no promises to any; that if he went to the Presidential chair he would go with clean hands, and uncontrolled by any one.

These remarks were made by General Jackson in the hearing of Mr. James Parker, of Chester County—Mr. Wm. Crowdsill of this city, and myself, and a number of other Gentlemen unknown to me.

I am, most respectfully, yours, &c.

DANIEL LARGE.

*Samuel Wetherill, Esq.*

*Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1827.*

The statement made by Mr. Daniel Large in the prefixed letter, is a faithful account of Gen. Jackson's conversation on the occasion alluded to.

WILLIAM CROWSDILL.

In the winter of 1826-7, Mr. Thomas Sloan of Brownsville, Pa. in a conversation in my bar room respecting the election of the President of the U States, and of the corrupt bargain and intrigue which procured his election, expressed his opinion to be that such practices had been resorted to by Mr. Clay and his friends, and justified his belief, by stating that Gen. Jackson had informed him so, in a conversation with him at Brownsville, and which was in substance the same since communicated to the public by Gen. Jackson.

I further certify, that I lately wrote to Mr. Sloan, requesting him to give a certificate of Gen. Jackson's statement to him, but have not received his answer.

RICHARD SIMMS.

*Wheeling, Dec. 19th, 1827.*

In the winter of 1826-7, Mr. Thomas Sloan of Brownsville, in a conversation in my presence, respecting the election of the present President of the U. States, and of the corrupt bargain and intrigue which procured his election, expressed his opinion to be that such practices had been resorted to by Mr. Clay; and justified his belief by relating a conversation which he had had on that subject with Gen. Jackson at Brownsville, on his return home from Washington City, after the election. Mr. Sloan rehearsed at length the statement made to him by the General, and which was in substance the same since communicated to the public by Gen. Jackson. Mr. Sloan further said that a company, of which he was one, had met the Gen. near to Brownsville, and escorted him into town, which was the occasion on which he had made the communication referred to.

ALDEN R. HOWE.

*Wheeling, Va. Dec. 19th, 1827.*

(E.)

# MR. BRENT'S STATEMENT.

(See Niles's Register, Vol. 28, Page 25.)

*From the National Journal.*

[It appears that previous to the publication of the annexed statement, a copy of it was sent to Mr. Kremer by Mr. Brent, with a request that he would examine it, and if he discovered any inaccuracies, suggest such alterations as he should deem necessary.]

*February 25, 1825.*

I state without hesitation, that on the day on which the debate took place in the House of Representatives, on the proposition to refer Mr. Clay's communication respecting "Mr. Kremer's card" to a committee, I heard Mr. Kremer declare at the fire place, in the lobby of the House of Representatives, in a manner and language which I believed sincere, that he never intended to charge Mr. Clay with corruption or dishonour in his intended vote for Mr. Adams as President, or that he had transferred, or could transfer the votes or interest of his friends; that he (Mr. Kremer) was among the last men in the nation to make such a charge against Mr. Clay, and that his (Mr. Kremer's) letter never was intended to convey the ideas given to it. The substance of the above conversation I immediately communicated to Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Hemphill, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Dwight of Massachusetts, of the House of Representatives.

WM. BRENT, (of Lou.)

I was present, and heard the observations, as above stated, in a conversation between Mr. Brent and Mr. Kremer.

PETER LITTLE, (of Md.)

Mr. Digges, who was present when the conversation referred to took place, has affirmed the truth of Mr. Brent's statement, as follows :

*March 1, 1825.*

In the National Journal I perceive my name mentioned, as to a conversation which took place in the lobby of the House of Representatives, between Mr. Brent of Louisiana and Mr. Kremer, and I feel no hesitation in saying that Mr. Brent's statement in the paper of this day, is substantially correct.

WILLIAM DUDLEY DIGGES.

Extract from a letter from Joseph Kent, Governor of Maryland, to a gentleman of Frankfort Kentucky, dated

*Rosemont, May 15th, 1827.*

"I have seen so little of late from your State upon the subject of politics, that I do not know whether the violence of the opposition to the present Administration has extended itself among you or not. Our friend Mr. Clay appears to be the chief object of persecution with the opposition. They are with great industry conducting a systematical attack upon him which commenced with the Kremer story, which was an entire fabrication. At the time the plot opened I was a member of the House of Representatives, and heard Kremer declare he never designed to charge Mr. Clay with any thing dishonorable in his life."

"The old man, naturally honest, was imposed on at the time by a powerful influence, and constrained to act his part in an affair, which from beginning to end, was as much a fiction as the Merry Wives of Windsor, or the School for Scandal. The attack on Mr. Clay during the late session of Congress, by General Saunders, as far as I could judge from the debate as published, proved an entire abortion, and I hardly know which surprised me most, the folly of the attack, or the inconsistency of the General. You have seen, no doubt, that Mr. F. Johnson stated in his reply to General Saunders, that at the time of the Presidential election in the House of Representatives, he, Gen. S. was decidedly in favour of Mr. Adams in preference to Gen. Jackson. In confirmation of what Mr. Johnson has stated, I well remember that not ten minutes before the election Gen. Saunders came to me, with an anxious countenance, discovering deep concern indeed, and used these emphatic words"—"I hope to God you may be able to terminate the election on the first ballot, for fear we from North Carolina may be forced to vote for Gen. Jackson." "North Carolina, you know, voted in the House of Representatives for Mr. Crawford, whose prospect of success was hopeless, although the electors of that state gave their votes in favour of

" Gen. Jackson. Knowing the deep interest you have always ta-  
 " ken in Mr. Clay's welfare, I have been induced to give you for  
 " your personal satisfaction, these particulars. Mr. Clay I have  
 " known intimately for sixteen years; his public career is com-  
 " pletely identified with every event of the country from that pe-  
 " riod to the present time, whether in peace or war. During the  
 " late war I have seen the House of Representatives, after having  
 " gone out of Committee of the whole, return to it again, for the  
 " sole purpose of affording Mr. Clay an opportunity (then Speaker)  
 " of putting down the desperate and infuriated advocates of Bri-  
 " tish tyranny, insult and injury. But his enemies say Mr. Adams  
 " bargained with him. This is assertion without proof, and is des-  
 " titute of truth, as it is of manly frankness. His superior quali-  
 " fications placed him in the Department of State, and history fur-  
 " nishes no instance, when so superior a man ever had to bargain  
 " for a high station, for which his peculiar fitness was evident to  
 " every one. In Maryland the Administration is daily gaining  
 " ground, and by the time the election occurs, I hope we shall be  
 " able to present an undivided front in their support."

